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SETTLEMENT ON THE LITTLE COLORADO 1873-1900: A STUDY OF THE PROCESSES AND INSTITUTIONS OF MORMON EXPANSION

by

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PREFACE

The movement of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints into the Great Salt Lake Valley and its surrounding regions is one of the truly compelling features of American frontier history. Developing centrally directed processes and institutions of expansion, the church extended its frontiers by the establishment of numerous colonies throughout the last half of the nineteenth century. One of the last of these--the Little Colorado Colony in northeastern Arizona--is the object of this study. Initiated in the 1870's, expansion into the Valley of the Little Colorado River took place at a time when the practices of the church were well-formed. Involving an inhospitable area beyond Utah's territorial bounds that was nevertheless considered vital to Mormon interests, it received the close attention of church leaders and was conducted by carefully chosen people. Frequently in question, the colony's settlement took nearly thirty years and required a strong and united effort. Consequently, it affords an excellent opportunity to study the processes and institutions of expansion in one colony and the general pattern of the Mormon frontier experience.

It is with real pleasure that I acknowledge my indebtedness and express thanks for the help given me in this undertaking. The materials and research facilities of the University of Arizona Library and the Ari-

zona Pioneer's Historical Society Library at Tucson, of the Arizona Department of Library and Archives at Phoenix, of the Brigham Young University Library, the University of Utah Library, the Utah State Historical Society, and the Church Historian's Office have been made available to me. For the efficient and gracious help of the personnel of each of these institutions I am indebted and express my gratitude. Also most kind and helpful were the National Archives and the Publicity Divisions of the Atchison Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad at Chicago who processed numerous inquiries and sent much information by mail.

A Graduate Research Fellowship from the University of Utah and two leaves of absence arranged by John W. Tucker, Director of the College of Eastern Utah provided funds and time to make this study possible.

I would like to express my esteem and appreciation to my supervisory committee at the University of Utah: to Dr. C. Gregory Crampton who has directed and encouraged me, to Dr. A. Russell Mortensen and Dr. Alfred E. Cave who have read the manuscript, and to Dr. David E. Miller and Dr. Harold L. Dalgleish as well as to other members of the History Faculty who have given aid on numerous occasions.

A great number of people have helped in various ways during the course of research and writing. To each of these I express my thanks. Of special helpfulness were Silas L. Fish of Phoenix and George S. Tanner of Salt Lake City who because of long-time interest in the history of the Little Colorado have been able to direct my attention to numerous materials and possibly more important have given me the advantage of

their experience and insight. Appreciative mention should also be made of my mother, Lydia Savage Peterson, whose feeling for the Little Colorado community has in large measure become my own. Finally and of greatest sentimental and practical importance has been the enthusiasm, patience, and support of my family, especially my wife Betty who has done much of the work of this study.

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SETTLEMENT ON THE LITTLE COLORADO 1873-1900: A STUDY OF THE PROCESSES AND INSTITUTIONS OF MORMON EXPANSION

Nineteenth century Latter-day Saints were profoundly moved by the American continent and strongly expansionist in their outlook. Fortifying national expansionist tendencies with church doctrines, Mormons envisioned the day when Zion, as they termed their homeland, would encompass both American continents. However, limited numbers and hostile social and natural conditions left them no alternative but to content themselves with far less. Such success as they did achieve was the result of centralized direction, dedication to cause, and the development of institutions and processes especially adapted to the church's values and to the environment of the arid West. This work is a study of the methods and agencies used by the Mormons in colonizing northern Arizona's Little Colorado River Basin.

In keeping with the central direction and full utilization of human and economic resources that characterized Mormon society, the Little Colorado was officially designated as a mission and settled by church call. As a means of mobilization, the mission call created new urgencies and rallied Mormons to new effort. Reacting variously to the call, Little Colorado missionaries recoiled, drifted on, or remained to make the area their homes. As the community grew, the mission was supplanted by the

regular agencies of the church but only after repeated calls had been made to stave off failure.

Transferring a colony to Arizona was itself a major feat of collective action. Roads were explored, water and feed located, and way stations established under the general direction of the church. The Lee's Ferry road provided continuing contact with the mother society in Utah.

The United Order movement which flourished in Utah at the time the Arizona expansion began was adapted to the southward movement. Consequently, the first Little Colorado settlements were established upon a United Order basis. Pioneers not only found extraordinary discipline in its structure but were buoyed by the conviction that they were at the forefront of an inspired development. From their desert poverty, they were confident, would emerge a new institution which in due course would become church-wide.

Sensing a special obligation to the American Indian and tying their own destiny intimately to his, Mormon pioneers expected the southward migration to initiate an era of successful missionary work among northern Arizona's tribes. Failing to touch the redmen, the mission to the Indians did lend idealistic meaning to the privations of frontier living and tended to justify the takeover of Indian lands in the minds and consciences of the settlers.

Arid and barren, the Little Colorado was nevertheless sought after by other interests and Mormons found it necessary to defend their claims to the country against the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad and large cattle companies as well as local political factions. Against such odds, the best effort of the church was able to locate only a few thousand settlers in the area. Anxious to avoid contact with the secular world, Little Colorado Saints eschewed most business activities, devoting themselves primarily to farming and water development. At such points as contact with the world was necessary, special effort was made to coordinate effort and present a united front. In economic affairs two agencies emerged, the board of trade and a cooperative mercantile institution. Each was of early utility but collapsed because of the half-hearted Mormon approach to economic activities and strong currents of individualism.

Successful colonization of the deserts of the West required special motivation and means. In the case of the Mormon expansion to northern Arizona, the impulse came from a unique sense of mission, while the means grew from contact with western frontiers and the unique circumstances of the Mormon experience.

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PART I

THE APPROACH

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Mormon colonization of northern Arizona in the years after 1873 was part of an expansionist tradition that was a major aspect of the history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the nineteenth century. Designating specific areas as Mormon homelands, the church encouraged the Saints to gather to these areas and sought to establish temporal control over them and to extend their bounds. Although economic need and growing population, as well as matters of polygamy and politics, were important reasons for expansion, church members entertained profoundly expansionist sentiments which existed independently of the demands of exigency. As part of the religious doctrines of the church, expansive beliefs were widely accepted and both directed the church's geographic growth and helped unite and mobilize Mormon society for outward movement.

Important among the ideas that related to the physical extension of the church was the concept of Zion or the earthly Kingdom of God. Appearing among accepted doctrines at an early date, it became one of the most invoked principles of the Mormon faith. Having at least three major meanings, Zion was considered to be the place to which the faithful would gather to escape the sins and injustice of the world, a place from which God's word was to issue, and, finally, the site of Christ's earthly advent which Mormon teachings confidently proclaimed for an imminent but undetermined date. During the early days of the church, the word "Zion" appears to have implied an area of restricted size. In 1831 Joseph Smith, the Mormon prophet, announced revelations designating Missouri as Zion and proclaiming it as a "land of inheritance" to the gathering Saints.[1] Regarding the claim thus established as superior to all others, the Mormons soon offended their neighbors and were expelled from the state. Even before their departure, however, the Zion concept was broadened somewhat as a stake or ecclesiastical subdivision was contemplated at Kirtland, Ohio. After the withdrawal, a broader Zion was apparent in Mormon reference to Missouri as the center stake of Zion. But for several years thereafter Zion was rarely if ever referred to as being of extensive bounds.

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[1] The revelations of Joseph Smith, which are accepted by Mormons as scripture, make clear the favored status in God's eyes enjoyed by members of the church and the claims to temporal kingdoms that grew therefrom. Given early in 1831 as the Saints looked westward toward Missouri, the following passage is illustrative:

> "I have made the earth rich, and behold it is my footstool, wherefore, again I will stand upon it. And I hold forth and deign to give unto you greater riches, even a land of promise, a land flowing with milk and honey, upon which there shall be no curse when the Lord cometh; And I will give it unto you for the land of your inheritance, and for the inheritance of your children forever, while the earth shall stand, and ye shall possess it again in eternity, no more to pass away."

Doctrine and Covenants 38:17-20.

Mormons also cherished the idea that America was a chosen or blessed land. Running completely through the Book of Mormon, the theme was one of the major doctrines of the church.[2] Though certainly suggestive in their relationship, the concepts of the chosen land and of Zion were apparently not inseparably associated in the early teachings of the church. By 1844, however, events and developing theology brought the two ideas together. Adding greatly to the geographic scope of Zion, the union also brought to full form what may be called the hemispheric destiny of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Related in Mormon teachings specifically to the growth of God's kingdom,.. this sense of destiny also corresponded with the spread-eagle sentiment of expansionism that swept the United States in the early 1840's. Caught up in the national excitement which was especially virulent in the West, the Mormons applied its impulse to their own religious destiny which they thought would best be served by extending American control.

Petitioning Congress in March of 1844 for the right to lead a grand filibustering expedition into the West, the Mormon prophet Joseph Smith requested that no fewer than 100,000 men be placed under his command to "extend the arm of deliverance to Texas; to protect the inhabitants of Oregon from foreign aggressions . . . and save the eagle's talon from the lion's paw."[3] Laying plans in the councils of the church to have the Rocky Mountains explored, Smith sent representatives to Washington, D. C. where they attentively listened to expansionist talk and quickly reported it to him at the Mormon headquarters in Nauvoo on the Mississippi River. The reports of John C. Fremont's western exploration of the previous years were avidly read. In pensive moments, Smith also predicted that the church would soon take shelter in the fastness of the Rocky Mountains.[4] His subordinates talked expansively of the growth of the kingdom and of a missionary and immigration system that would have offices "from the rivers to the ends of the earth" and of a proposal for a Mormon commonwealth in Texas.[5]

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[2] For characteristic references, see Ether 2:7, 12; 1 Nephi 13:10-42 of the Book of Mormon.

But undoubtedly the most telling manifestation of Mormon expansionism--the one to which others anchored--was Joseph Smith's announcement of a hemispheric or two-continents doctrine of Zion. Timing his delivery carefully to coincide with the end of the 1844 April General Conference of the church, Smith told members of a "great, grand and glorious revelation" that he had "reserved to the last."

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[3] Joseph Smith, History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (7 vols.; 2 ed. rev.; Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1948), VI, 276. Hereafter cited Documentary History of the Church.

[4] Ibid., p. 222.

[5] Ibid., pp. 352, 354. Also see p. 256 for letter of Lyman Wight to the First Presidency, February 15, 1844. After recounting the advantages of the Southwest, Wight continued: "We have in our minds to go to the table lands of Texas . . . let it be a place of gathering for all the South . . . and for us . . . to build according to the commandments of our God, and spread the Gospel to the nations according to the will of our Heavenly Father."

> The whole of America is Zion itself from north to south. . . . I have received instructions from the Lord that from henceforth wherever the Elders of Israel shall build up churches . . . throughout the States, there shall be a stake of Zion.[6]

Although not explicitly stated in the notes of the meeting, Smith's meaning was to extend Zion's limits to South America. However, the record of a "Special Meeting of Elders" held the following day, leaves no doubt that the men closest to the prophet understood this to be his intent. Noting that after the completion of the Nauvoo Temple "the gathering will be from the nations to North and South America," Smith's brother Hyrum invoked good Manifest Destiny imagery when he declared that the two continents were the "symbols of the wings."[7] Stating that the "Prophet called North and South America Zion," Brigham Young regarded the announcement as a "perfect sweepstakes . . . a perfect knock-down to the devil's kingdom" and with the vision of a continental system in his mind called God's growing kingdom "a fire which cannot be put out."[8]

Of great force under any circumstances, the prophet's two-continents revelation was burned into the consciousness of his followers by the excitement and tragedy of that spring. His candidacy for President of the United States, which was announced early in 1844, stirred the loyalty of his followers as rarely before, and his assassination in June sealed his expansionist teachings upon them. Staying in Nauvoo only long enough to complete the temple, they moved west, embracing the policy he had outlined.[9]

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[6] Ibid., pp. 318-19.

[7] Ibid., p. 322.

[8] Ibid.

Forced by what appeared to them to be a real threat to the integrity of the church, Mormons abandoned whatever plans they may have entertained to expand into the eastern part of the United States and following a self-help policy of pre-emptive expansion made their way to the Great Basin. Writing from the national capitol in 1844, Apostle Orson Hyde had hinted at the course they took when he told the First Presidency that with Oregon and Texas filling with the "mobocrats of Missouri" the church should move immediately if it planned to settle either area. Warning them to expect no help from the government, he opined that "if the Saints possess the kingdom . . . they will have to take it; and the sooner it is done the more easily it is accomplished."[10] By plan or by circumstance, Hyde thus briefly laid out the course of the church's future expansion. Deeming that the doctrines of Zion gave them the best possible claim to the American continent, Mormons expanded along the line of least resistance, finding in the voids of western deserts not merely opportunity to "possess the kingdom" but evidence that God willed that their expansion follow the course it took.[11] Apparent in the bounds of the State of Deseret which veered south to the Mexican border avoiding the central overland route and the booming northern California of the gold rush, preemptive expansion led to the effort to claim San Bernardino and the Mormon corridor leading to it. After the Utah War, the course of expansion tended even more strongly to unclaimed areas. In turning to the Colorado River navigation and to the colonization of northern Arizona, the church continued its quest for unwanted areas which could not only be incorporated into Zion but which promised to help fill its hemispheric destiny.

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[9] Smith and some of his followers hoped both to retain their foothold at Nauvoo and make the major outward thrust of their expanding Zion into the West. Writing to Orson Hyde in Washington, D. C., Church Recorder Willard Richards declared that "Nauvoo will be a 'corner stake of Zion' forever . . . extend where else we may." As pressure intensified at Nauvoo, however, it became increasingly apparent that survival demanded that the city be abandoned. A Millennial Star editorial of 1846 entitled "Why do the Saints Leave Nauvoo?" expressed the sentiment as follows:

> "The great secret of all, is this; the Saints have received a dispensation of the gospel unto the children of men, and if their persisting to reside in any certain locality would bring upon them destruction from the hands of the wicked; their duty, it will be plainly manifest is to flee, unless the Lord gave direct revelation to the contrary. . . . The people of the Lord, therefore are merely moving from one locality of Zion to another, from whence they can more effectively . . . perform their great and important part in the final drama of the last days."

Documentary History of the Church, VI, 73.

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[10] Ibid., p. 372.

[11] The role of God in guiding Zion's growth was apparent in many speeches and articles of the era. Not unusual was George A. Smith's statement that "when Zion is not big enough for us, the Lord will be willing to stretch it so as to make room for his Saints." See Journal of Discourses (26 vols.; Liverpool, 1854), IX, 203.

What may be termed a modified agrarianism also contributed to the Mormon spirit of expansion. Without fully acknowledging the individualism generally attached to agrarian thought, church members embraced the idea that virtue, political primacy, and economic self-sufficiency were all the special products of the agricultural life. Manifesting an affinity for not only the ideals of agrarianism but also for the practices of self-sufficient agriculture, the church excluded or discouraged most, if not all, of the other economic pursuits that characterized the development of the West. In the arid conditions of the Great Basin and contiguous regions, the result was a dispersion which broadened the bounds of the kingdom as the gathered Saints looked for arable land and economic opportunity. Another aspect of the agrarian thinking of the Mormon frontier was the idea that agriculture was essentially constructive. Commerce and industry on the other hand were conceived to be exploitative and destructive in nature. Thus, in colonizing the desert and bringing scattered bits of it under cultivation, Latter-day Saints both extended the area of the kingdom and built it up in preparation for the day of the Lord's second coming.

Visions of hemispheric destiny, pre-emptive expansion and constructive agriculture resulted in the church taking a decided southern bent in its expansion. Leaving the role of the last two for the present, brief consideration may be given to the use made of the two-continents doctrine of Zion in promoting the southward movement during the

1870's. Church leaders were not only filled with the vision of a great southern commonwealth themselves, but repeatedly called it to the minds of lay members. Characteristic were the words of George Q. Cannon when, speaking in 1873 after the initial bid to "lengthen the cords of Zion" into northern Arizona had failed, he assured church members that the retraction from Arizona was only temporary because "the time must come when the Latter-day Saints . . . will extend throughout all North and South America, and we shall establish the rule of righteous and good order throughout all these new countries."[12] Fearful that Salt Lake City would one day come under "Gentile Rule," Brigham Young told Jacob Hamblin and other early missionaries that the church would "go into Sanora /sic/ . . . before they go to Jackson County /Missouri/."[13] Other leaders, notably Apostles Wilford Woodruff and Erastus Snow, sounded notes of warning when they combined predictions of the destruction of the United States with prophecy that the Saints would soon inhabit South America.[14] Such sentiments from the mouths of their leaders were not lost upon the rank and file who accepted them as gospel doctrine. Typical was one of the original Little

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[12] Ibid., XVI, 144.

[13] "Minutes of Eastern Arizona Stake Conferences, 1879-1882," Church Historian's Office and Library, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited CHO), p. 180.

[14] Ibid., p. 87 for Woodruff's comments. For comments of Snow, see "Autobiography of Joseph Fish," typed original in CHO, p. 166.

Colorado River pioneers who after nearly a decade and a half in Arizona still clung to Brigham Young's charge that settlers were to "make stopping places . . . on the way to South America."[15]

A persistent element in the southward bent of Mormon expansion was the church's effort to gain access to the sea. Abandoned frequently as other pressures averted attention, the impulse nevertheless continued to be an element in church planning at least until the death of Brigham Young in 1877. First the State of Deseret, then the Mormon Corridor to a California seaport, and then the Colorado River navigation scheme were promoted with this end in view. Actively pursued during the early 1860's, the Colorado River project is generally thought to have been dropped in the latter half of the decade because of the expected construction of a transcontinental railway line through northern Utah. While it is true that the railroad's advent met the territory's transportation needs, it would seem that the possibility of river traffic was not entirely abandoned until 1870 when Mormon settlers were finally withdrawn from the Muddy River villages on the approach to the river in southern Nevada. Significantly, the same year also saw the lifting of the Navajo Indian barrier that had blocked earlier Mormon expeditions into Arizona. Laying the physical groundwork for southern expansion, Kanab, Johnson, and Paria in Utah and Pipe Springs and Lee's Ferry in Arizona were soon claimed and settled by the church. In company with a close eastern friend of the Mormons, Thomas L. Kane, with whom he renewed relations in 1870 after a lapse of several years, Brigham Young mulled a plan that at various times included not only a major Mormon gathering place in Mexico but seemingly a seaport, likely at Guaymas, and railroad access to it as well. The heart of the plan was probably developed in the winter of 1872-73 when Kane made a little publicized but extended visit to Brigham Young at his southern home in St. George. Planning to coordinate their efforts, they separated in the spring of 1873, Kane to initiate a discreet drive to acquire a large Mexican land grant for the Mormons, and Young to launch the physical movement in that direction. Failing to accomplish either goal during 1873, they were, as Kane put it, "behind hand a year."[16]

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[15] "Minutes of Snowflake Stake Quarterly Conferences," CHO, March 4, 1889. An indirect evidence of the influence of the two-continents doctrine was the widespread study of Spanish among southern Saints.

Evidently lying dormant until 1876, the plan was revived with the call of the Little Colorado mission of that year. With thoughts of a major gathering place in mind, Kane visited Mexico in the winter of 1876-77. Traveling under government auspices with his transportation furnished by the War Department, he canvassed several northern states and measured the country's political climate. Satisfied that their plan was essentially sound, he wrote Young in March of 1877:

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[16] Correspondence between Kane and Brigham Young was initiated by the latter in 1869 and was carried through the mails and by personal visits from Young's sons and other representatives. After a flurry of correspondence in the fall of 1872, Kane paid his call upon the Mormon prophet. During the next few months, both men were in more or less active contact contact with railroaders who were promoting a Sonora Valley road to Guaymas. From the evidence seen by this writer, it is difficult to assess how important such exchanges were, but they were likely only exploratory and promotional rather than concrete and binding in nature. See letters of Thomas Wright to Brigham Young, February 15, 1873 and Thomas L. Kane to Brigham Young, December 4, 1873, Brigham Young Letter Box, CHO.

> There are fortified gardens in Mexico: cradles that will expand with the growth of a Nation in them. I have beheld several spacious valleys; mountain walled, and rich and well watered as any of the historical valleys of the East renowned in past ages as the Seats of Empire.[17]

Continuing in a vein that indicated a close rapport between himself and the Mormon president, Kane proposed that the Mexican gathering place be connected with Utah only by a corridor. Cautioning that close discipline must be exercised to achieve this end, he suggested:

> The people should be advised in season respecting the proper line which Southern emigration should pursue. They should not fall to building intermediate piers, as it were, before they know where the landing abutment is to be. Accordingly the time has arrived to select the first site in Mexico, for the establishment of a principal settlement there. That should be made the Objective Point, and in the setting of intervening Stakes, should be borne constantly in view. A single line to connect the better regions North and South of the low hot and sterile interval should be considered a sufficient drain on the resources of a single generation.[18]

Concluding, he warned the church president of the chaotic state of political affairs in Mexico and told him of his fears that "North

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[17] Letter of Thomas L. Kane to Brigham Young, March 2, 1877, Brigham Young Letter Box, CHO.

[18] _Ibid._

American Competitors" would soon "buy or steal all of it worth having that the Mormons do not succeed in occupying before them." Urging haste, he deemed that whatever area was to be occupied would have to be taken and "held upon the ground."[19] Without suggesting the use of force, he clearly indicated that an assertive self-help policy would be required if Mexican political instability and Yankee speculators were to be overcome.[20]

During the next year or so, fragmentary reference to Kane's Mexican doings appear in the letters of George Q. Cannon and Erastus Snow. However, the passing of Brigham Young seemed to end this phase of the southern expansion, although Mexico and even South America were alluded to as the goal of the church's expansion and the former somewhat hesitantly colonized.

As far as this study is concerned, there is no need to make any estimates as to the practicability of the Kane-Young plan. What should be noted, however, is the fact that the basic beliefs of the Mormons served not only as vehicles upon which the practical needs of the church were borne in its outward movement, but that they also provided a base from which bold and expansive programs were extended. Thus, it will be the assumption of this study that the economic, political, and demographic determinants of expansion were justified and shaped in their form and direction by the expansionist spirit of the Mormon people.

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[19] Ibid.

[20] See two letters of Thomas L. Kane written to Brigham Young on March 2, 1877, Brigham Young Letter Box, CHO.

Also apparent in the southward expansion of the 1870's was a well-formed and time-proven communalism. For four decades Mormon objectives had been stubbornly pursued in the face of recurrent opposition. This extended conflict was marked by frequent Latter-day Saint reverses and resulted in adaptation and internal adjustment that accentuated tendencies to cooperative living and centralized direction that were implicit in the doctrine and structure of the church. Although the planning and regulation by the General Authorities did not banish individualism from among Mormon frontiersmen, the role of the prophet as God's legitimate temporal voice was well established with most Mormons looking to him and other leaders for organization and direction. Consequently, directives staking out arenas of joint action were not only recognized as valid but were welcomed and embraced as comforting manifestations of God's reality. Strength and purpose were found in the divinely directed efforts of a dozen frontiers and a welter of cooperative undertakings contributed to the cherished goal of Mormon self-sufficiency. In addition to the role played by the church, the nature of the Mormon frontier with its droughty and tumbled distances and periodic Indian hostilities lent practical meaning to the cooperative course of its development. Roads were made, villages and forts raised, water developed and, as political and economic problems replaced those arising from natural environment, social needs were filled by cooperative institutions and mutual effort. Thus, as the new pioneers faced south and settled along the Little Colorado River and elsewhere during the 1870's, they followed cooperative patterns that had tempered in a dozen forges from Missouri to Utah's Dixie, and they found themselves at home in distant places with their wonted communal relationships.

Throughout the work that follows, it will be our purpose to consider the processes and institutions of expansion on one Mormon frontier.

CHAPTER II

FOUNDING A COLONY ON THE LITTLE COLORADO RIVER

Of Beginnings and Failures

The spring of 1876 was a time of colonization along northern Arizona's Little Colorado River. One of the groups that arrived intent on locating there was a party of young Bostonians. They had been recruited by a Judge Samuel W. Cozzens, an author of some reputation who had lectured extensively in New England on the advantages of northern Arizona with which he was presumably well acquainted. Representing the valley of the Little Colorado as a verdant and beautiful area hidden by its remoteness, Cozzens' lecturing excited so much interest that he at length joined other promoters to organize the American Colonization Company with the immediate objective of settling on the northern Arizona stream.[1] About one hundred recruits, most of them unmarried men, joined under Cozzens' banner and set out in two contingents for the West. Limiting themselves to thirty pounds of baggage each, they traveled by train to the

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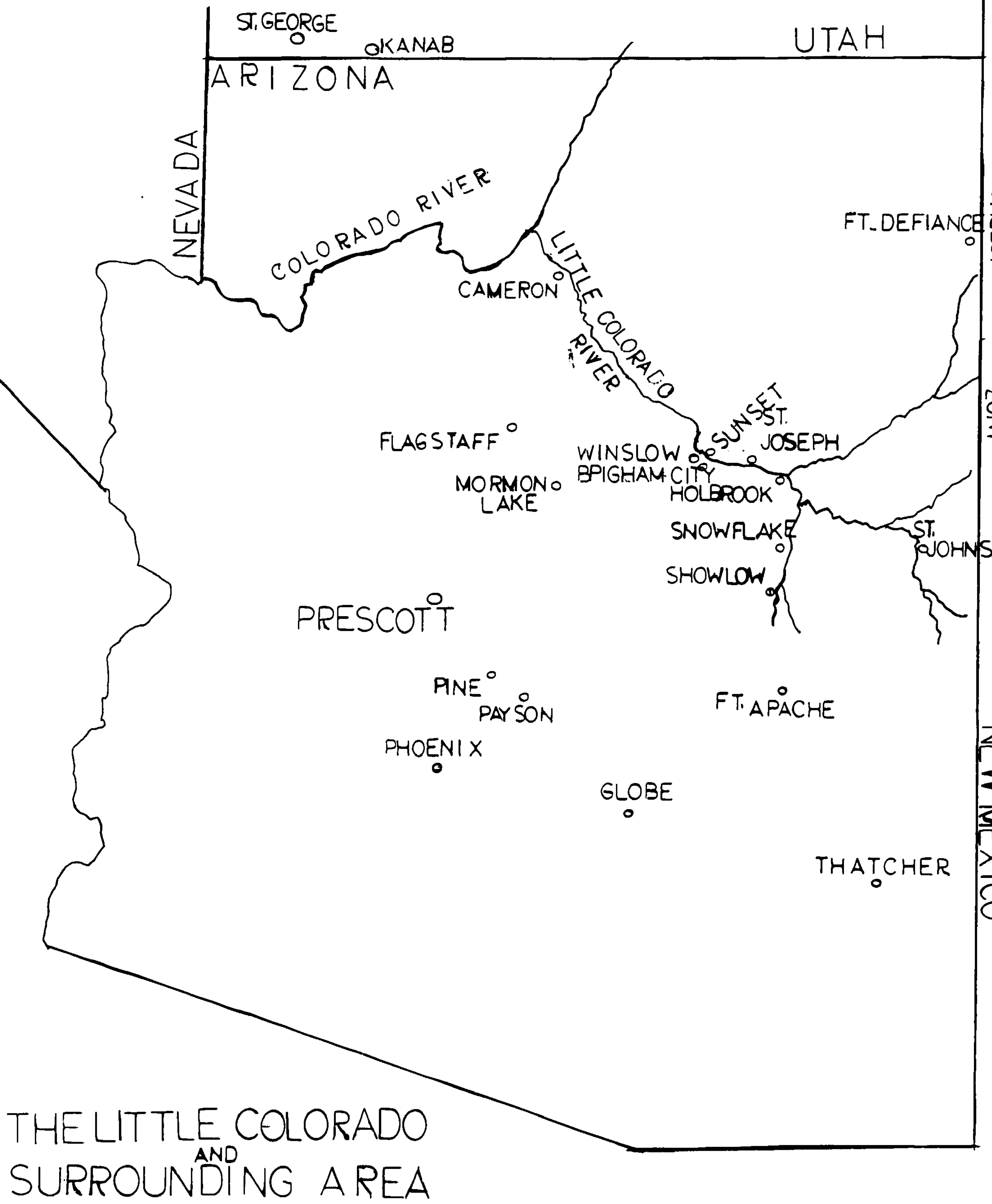
[1] Cozzens also wrote a book in which he imaginatively extols Arizona's virtues. Challenging the reader to "accompany us in our travels," he promises to "convince you that Arizona is the most marvellous portion of this wonderful country--America." Only passing reference is made to the Little Colorado River which he writes of as the River of Flax or Rio Chiquito. See The Marvelous Country or Three Years in Arizona and New Mexico (Boston: Lee and Shepard Publishers, 1876), p. 45.


ST. GEORGE
KANAB
UTAH
ARIZONA
NEVADA
COLORADO RIVER
CAMERON
LITTLE COLORADO RIVER
FT. DEFIANCE
SUNSET
ST. JOSEPH
FLAGSTAFF
WINSLOW
BRIGHAM CITY
HOLBROOK
MORMON LAKE
SNOWFLAKE
ST. JOHNS
SHOWLOW
PRESCOTT
PINE
PAYSON
FT. APACHE
PHOENIX
GLOBE
THATCHER
NEW MEXICO
THE LITTLE COLORADO AND SURROUNDING AREA

Map 1

end of the track west of Santa Fe where they purchased six wagons and a string of worn-out mules from a grading contractor and continued on, now forced to make their way on foot. By the time the front ranks arrived on the Little Colorado about April 15, the glamour that had attached to the area in Cozzens' lectures had been seriously tarnished by the difficulties of desert travel. Disillusion was sharpened when on arriving at the river the Bostonians discovered that a Mormon colony had preceded them into the region by three weeks. However, their chagrin at having lost the valley was mollified by their growing recognition of the disparity between Cozzens' imaginative representations and reality. Nonplussed and with growing resentment, they gingerly picked their way through the Mormons, whom some of them feared, and proceeded on west to the present site of Flagstaff to establish a temporary camp. There they fashioned a flagpole which gave the place its name, explored a little, and considered legal action against the expedition's promoters. In the end, however, they scattered, leaving Flagstaff, to be caught up in mining and other activities of the West or to return home. Ill-conceived and naively conducted, the expedition left little mark of its passing, and its very defeat was soon engulfed by time.[2]

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[2] For accounts of the Boston party, see James H. McClintock, Mormon Settlement in Arizona: A Record of Peaceful Conquest of the Desert (Phoenix: Manufacturing Stationers Inc., 1921), pp. 149-50; Deseret News, June 14, July 19, and September 20, 1876; Arizona Miner, April 18 and 26, 1876.

The American Colonization Company, however, was not the only organized effort to settle the Valley of the Little Colorado that failed. Three years earlier, a Mormon party of about the same size likewise abandoned its plan to colonize after a brief sojourn in northern Arizona. Although its failure was if anything even more complete than that of the Boston Company, the Mormon expedition had not been following will-o'-the-wisp pretenses, nor was its personnel inexperienced or misinformed about the general nature of the country. Early conceiving an interest in the South as a possible region of expansion, the church had been collecting bits of data relative to northern Arizona for nearly a generation. Supplemented by the general growth of knowledge about Arizona's geography, Mormon information was in large part the product of firsthand exploration and observation.

The earliest Mormon penetration of Arizona from north to south likely occurred in 1855 as a by-product of the Elk Mountain Mission, which was itself a part of the wider Mormon movement to establish a montane kingdom by the process of pre-emptive expansion. Alfred Billings, who headed the mission, took a party of explorers south from their headquarters at present Moab, going beyond the San Juan River into Arizona. Fairly bristling with Indian and white place names, directions, mileages, and other geographic information, his journal traced the course of their southward journey in such detail as virtually to preclude the possibility that his interest in the route was casual or for the limited purpose of one trip. But if he or the church had immediate plans to extend the Mormon frontier into northern Arizona, they were forced to abandon them when the Elk Mountain Mission was driven from Moab by irate Indians later in the summer of 1855.[3]

The most important Mormon explorations of northern Arizona prior to 1873 were conducted by Indian missionaries from southwestern Utah. Beginning in 1858, Jacob Hamblin and a handful of associates in the Indian Mission based at Santa Clara made periodic crossings into the country south and east of the Colorado River to the mesa villages of the Hopis. Opening trails through the canyons from the northeast and around the Grand Canyon from the southwest, they discovered the major crossings of the river and picked out water holes along which the roads south were later developed. They became well acquainted with the country and the Indians generally and made special and lasting friendships with a few native leaders. In company with John Wesley Powell of Geological Survey fame Hamblin himself had crossed the northern part of the territory in 1870 to Fort Defiance near the New Mexico boundary. The Indian missionaries, however, do not appear to have explored the Little Colorado River except for a few miles immediately above a crossing low on its course which Hamblin had found in 1862 while pioneering a southwestern route to the Hopi villages by circling below the Grand Canyon.

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[3] See Alfred N. Billings, "Memorandum, Account Book and Diary of Alfred N. Billings, 1855," typed copy at Brigham Young University Library (hereafter cited BYU). It is conceivable that William Huntington, who had made a "trip of discovery among the Navajos" in 1854, penetrated into northern Arizona. While my evidence is vague and circumstantial, it seems virtually sure that Huntington's trip carried him south through Moab to the southeast corner of Utah where he visited "ruins of an ancient city, some of the buildings in a good state of preservation. . . ." See letter from George A. Smith to F. D. Richards, December 1854 quoted in Millenial Star, XVII, 253.

In addition to this direct exposure to the country, Mormons had good opportunity to acquire additional knowledge through close contact with government explorers who were making southern Utah and northern Arizona the object of careful study at this time. At loggerheads with Congress over the polygamy question, the church, nevertheless, cooperated closely with official surveyors, and a congenial relationship existed in which interchange of information seems likely. Contact was not limited to Jacob Hamblin, who worked extensively with Powell; others, including Brigham Young and a number of Little Colorado settlers, met frequently with official parties in Salt Lake City and in the field.[4]

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[4] Scientific parties often called on the church president both as a matter of courtesy and to solicit the aid of his people. The following letter to Erastus Snow reflects something of the relationship that existed:

> "The bearer of this, Dr. Edward Palmer M. D. a gentleman sent out by the Smithsonian Institution, Washington D. C. is about to undertake a scientific exploration of Northern Arizona and the country contiguous and proposes making your city his point of outfit and organization. You will please render D. Palmer all the aid, and afford him all the information in your power to enable him to accomplish this purpose, or any other tending to the successful prosecution of this enterprise."

See letter of Brigham Young to Erastus Snow, May 27, 1870, Brigham Young Letter Book for 1870, CHO. Another evidence of interchange of field information between the Mormons and government explorers is found in the "Journal of Joseph Fish, 1840-1926," original in CHO, p. 84. Seeking Fish out, Powell borrowed a map of the Thousand Lake Mountain region drawn by

By 1870 changing circumstances, including the growth of Mormon population and the pacifying of the Navajos who had carried on intermittent raids along the southern frontier since 1865, permitted the resumption of the church's southward movement. With the establishment of settlements at Kanab, Pipe Springs, Paria, and Lee's Ferry between 1870 and 1873, the approach to Arizona was secured. Finding nothing in the general information or in the explorations of the Indian missionaries to cause them to give up their vision of a kingdom extending into Arizona, Mormon leaders determined to initiate its colonization in 1873. As plans developed, what was known as the Arizona Exploring Company was called in December of 1872 to make one last reconnaissance of the northern part of the territory. Consisting of fourteen men, the company was directed to visit both the Little Colorado River and the Rio Verde country south of the San Francisco Mountains. Headed by Lorenzo W. Roundy of Kanaraville, this group included among its numbers such veterans of the Indian mission as Jacob Hamblin, Ira Hatch, and Andrew Gibbons, all of whom had been into Arizona on previous occassions.[5] Betraying the influence of the scientific

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Fish while on military reconnaissance during the Indian wars. Frequent reference is also to be found in the journals of Little Colorado pioneers of meeting with official parties on the road. See Journal of Jesse N. Smith (Salt Lake City: Jesse N. Smith Family Assoc., 1953), p. 228.

[5] Hamblin was charged with the general supervision of the expedition's Indian affairs, as well as with the responsibility of arranging for guides and Indian runners to bear communications between the explorers and Utah. See James G. Bleak, "Annals of the Southern Utah Mission," CHO, Book B, p. 30. Also see Pearson H. Corbett, Jacob Hamblin,

methods of the official surveys, the reconnaissance party's instructions included the charge to gather specimens of fossils, rocks, and soil and to label the same, noting the place and conditions of origin. In addition to general observations relative to routes and water supply, it was also to make note of the topography and drainage of the country through which it passed.[6]

After crossing the Colorado River on February 2, the party proceeded south, separating near Moencopi with Hamblin and Ira Hatch going to Ft. Defiance to pick up a guide while the remainder of the party worked out a wagon route down Moencopi Wash to the Little Colorado River. Reaching the river, Roundy followed up its course, passing both Black and Grand Falls to what he referred to as the "Butterfield mail road."[7] This was likely the road commonly known among the earliest Mormon pioneers as the Fort Wingate and Prescott mail road. If this assumption is accurate, the explorers had penetrated at least as far as the Sunset Crossing, which later became the site of the westernmost of the

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Peacemaker (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1952), p. 336 and Robert Glass Cleland and Juanita Brooks, (eds.), A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848-1876 (2 vols.; San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, 1955), II, 226.

[6] Bleak, Book B, p. 30. There is no indication that the directive to collect scientific data was complied with. Indeed, it would have been strange had it been, as none of these men were of scientific bent or training.

[7] Deseret News, May 28, 1873.

Mormon settlements. In any event, the party now rejoined by Hamblin and Hatch abandoned their southeast course for a westerly one, exploring the Rio Verde before turning to cross the snow-covered San Francisco Mountains en route to Moencopi and Lee's Ferry where they arrived on February 26.

Roundy was well pleased with the country but aside from the very real service of staking out a road accomplished little that contributed to the likelihood of success for the colonization that was anticipated. "Moin-koppy" he found to be a good deal like St. George Valley, with small springs "breaking out under the hills" but of limited land, and that impregnated with minerals. The Little Colorado River, whose waters were "brackish" even at this time of year, ran through wide bottoms in which grass and cottonwoods abounded. Although the river appeared smaller than the Rio Virgin, Roundy regarded prospects of settlement to be most favorable.[8]

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[8] Ibid. A. W. Ivins on visiting the area in 1875 recorded the following which if stated seriously and correctly raises some question as to the Roundy company's powers of observation:

> "I remembered what Bishop Roundy . . . said about the country at St. George before I left home. He said they found cottonwoods on the Little Colorado but they were stunted and crooked, probably caused by the turkeys roosting in them so much."

See "Anthony Woodward Ivins Journal," handwritten original in CHO, November 9, 1875, p. 41. McClintock, p. 82, makes mention of Roundy and quotes him in a way that leads the writer to believe that McClintock had seen an official report of the Roundy expedition. I have inquired after it at the Church Historian's Office but have not found it.

By the latter part of April a colonizing mission followed in Roundy's footsteps. Beginning auspiciously enough with numerous advantages that the Boston company of three years later could not boast, it was, nevertheless, inadequately prepared for the conditions it found. Called about the first of March, 250 missionaries were directed to take the road south as soon as the winter broke. Of this number, only about a hundred men and a few women and children are said to have made the trip.[9] Field management for the entire undertaking fell upon ailing Joseph W. Young, who as stake president at St. George appears to have been second in command in southern Utah to Apostle Erastus Snow. Making hasty preparations, including the designation of Horton D. Haight as president of the mission, Young began meeting the emigrants early in April at Pipe Springs where he organized them into companies of not over ten wagons and sent them on, guided by various members of the Roundy party. The first of these groups crossed at Lee's Ferry on April 22; others soon followed. Sensing that the groundwork had been hastily laid or possibly finally realizing that they were expected to lay it themselves, a few of the missionaries began to find fault with both the management and the objectives of the mission by the time they reached the ferry. Ultimately affecting many of the missionaries, the leaven of their discontent was, of course, an important factor in the mission's unsuccessful outcome.[10]

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[9] While other sources fix the size of the mission at about a hundred, Brigham Young Perkins, a missionary from Bountiful, gives the following that is a bit more specific: "Our company consisted of about 100 men and boys, five women and one child. . . ." From a "Reminiscence by Brigham Young Perkins" written in 1919 that appears under "Arizona Mission" in the "South West Indian Mission History," compiled by Andrew Jensen, CHO. Also see letter of Brigham Young to Joseph W. Young, March 10, 1873, Brigham Young Letter Book, CHO, in which the latter is informed that, excluding the Cache County conscription, 165 designees met in Salt Lake City and received instructions from Brigham Young personally.

South of the river, Haight inched his way, taking no less than twenty-six days to bring the bulk of his party the seventy miles from the ferry to Moencopi. There missionaries wasted precious time awaiting the arrival of later contingents. A few acres of ground were broken and crops planted, but no explorations were ventured beyond a day's trip from the Moencopi springs. For the most part, missionaries loafed and played games; some even wrote poetry. Finally on May 21, Haight got them started on toward the Little Colorado, which the first of them reached grimy and dispirited the next day after a sandy haul which was made particularly miserable by one of the characteristic spring winds of northern Arizona.[11]

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[10] Henry Day, a captain of a company that arrived at Lee's on May 26, was particularly disgusted with the frustations of pioneering and wasted no breath in so informing John D. Lee, whom he personally offended by deriding the Kaibab road and the ferry as well as laying strong criticism at the feet of the church when he called the ferry "a Poor Shitten arrangement" and declared that the "company never Should have been Sent on a Mission until a good Road and Ferry had been Made first &c." Indignant, Lee gave as good as he took, quickly putting Day in his place and taking comfort from the fact "that few if any endorsed his remarks." See Cleland and Brooks, II, 240-41.

By now thoroughly shaken, the missionaries were not heartened by the river which suited them no better than it had Powell's men four years before when they had paused at its confluence with the Colorado before plunging on down the canyon. One of Powell's boatmen who had long since been conditioned to the mud and foul water of the region's rivers wrote that the Little Colorado was "a loathsome little stream, so filthy and muddy it fairly stinks"; another corroborated this, opining that it was "as disgusting a stream as there is on the continent."[12]

Even a loathsome stinking stream would have been welcomed by the missionaries who found the Little Colorado rapidly drying up. Disconcerted, Haight called a halt a few miles after striking the river. Sending messengers to Salt Lake City for instruction, he continued on horseback with a chosen party to explore upstream. Proceeding some 136 miles to about where Silver Creek enters the Little Colorado, they concluded that the country was uninhabitable and turned homeward. One member of the mounted reconnaissance, a Norwegian missionary named Andrew Amundsen, left the following misspelled but vivid appraisal of the country:

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[11] Andrew Amundsen's journal is the best account of the mission. After eating the sand of an exceptionally windy day as they made their way down Moencopi Wash, Amundsen found wry comfort in the fact that "we will hev suffishent gritt to stand a few hardships." See "Journal of A Mission to the San Francisko Mountains," handwritten original in CHO, May 23, 1873.

[12] Wallace Stegner, Beyond the Hundredth Meridian: John Wesley Powell and the Second Opening of the West (Sentry edition; Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1962), p. 94 quotes the journals of Jack Sumner and George Y. Bradley under dates of August 10 and 11, 1869, respectively.

> From the first we struck the little Collorado op 150 miles, it is the seam thing all they way, no plase fit for a human being to dwell upon. In case of hie water the bottoms are all floded, /there is/ no please for a dam for if we could get plenty of water it would back op about 6 or 8 miles op the Rivver and the Cottonwood is so scrubby and crukked so it would only be fit for fierr wood. No rock for bilding, no pine timber within 50 or 75 miles of her. Wher ever you may luck the country is all broken op. The moste desert lukking plase that I ever saw, Amen.[13]

On receiving this negative report, the remainder of the expedition "wass" in Amundsen's words "badly disapointed." After discussing the country's prospects in a conference of the whole camp, they began to withdraw. Not yet fully aware they were defeated but bitter in their disappointment, they sought to allay their chagrin with an unlikely musical group. Amundsen tells: "We riged op a Band, consisted on one fiddle, one Pickelo, and the rest tin pans and kittles. We then went out and wellcomed the Captain on his retreat from Arizona, we had a good time."[14] Drummed by this makeshift band, the expedition heavily retraced its steps to Moencopi and then, after a further time of indecision as they awaited word from Brigham Young, started back to the river during the last week of June.

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[13] Amundsen, May 28, 1873.

[14] Ibid., June 5, 1873.

While they marked time at Moencopi, an interesting exchange took place between anonymous members of the expedition that revealed something of the tension they were under as well as certain deeply ingrained Mormon values. On Friday June 13, according to one account, "some of the boys" raised a rock "in a conspicuous place at the spring" on which they had inscribed "Arizona Mission Dead--1873." During the following night, a writer who used the name "Faith Hope Charity" left a poem entitled "Arizona Mission Dead Old Doubtful." Beginning "Thou, Fool, This Mission is not dead, it only sleeps," the writer invoked such Mormon articles of faith as God's omnipotence, the church's mission to carry "the Gospel" to the Indians, and the fall of "this wicked nation" before he concluded:

> Saints should not murmur nor this land despise
> Those who do so, Certainly are not wise
> Did not God create it? Does he not understand?
> What best will suit his purpose? A fruitful or baren land.[15]

The following night, a writer who signed himself "Hurry Home" came to the defense of the mission generally and advised the writer of the previous night to lay his "perturbed feelings on the shelf . . . nor spend /his/ genius, carping at the boys" but to challenge "Doubtful," who was "old

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[15] "Journals of John Henry Standiford," typed copy at Arizona State Department of Libraries and Archives, Phoenix, Arizona (hereafter cited ALA), microfilm BYU, pp. 28-30.

Satans tool."[16]

Having relieved the boredom of their situation and perhaps even having assuaged their consciences by the exchange, the missionaries made their way on to the river where, still not having heard to the contrary, they recrossed between July 4 and 7. Before belated word to stay in Arizona finally came from Salt Lake City, they had separated with Haight's blessings and were picking their way back into Utah, spreading reports of the country's bad qualities as they went. Although certain members of the mission remained in the south awaiting its revival, the damage had been done, and it remained for another year and another mission to settle successfully on the Little Colorado.

Like the Bostonians, the missionaries of 1873 scattered, going their diverse ways. But unlike the Bostonians, their escape to anonymity was less than complete and, unlike the American Colonizing Company, the mother institution suffered neither collapse nor loss of resolve from the defeat. However, the plan to settle the Little Colorado was postponed--postponed for a far longer period than Brigham Young anticipated when he announced in a public meeting in August of 1873 his intent to lead a new colony south immediately after October conference. In spite of oft-repeated promises to go to Arizona that fall, neither he nor anyone else did; it was only after a lapse of nearly three years that the colonization of the Little Colorado was resumed.[17]

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[16] Ibid.

As preliminary measures to this new assault, two exploring parties were sent out late in 1875. One under Daniel W. Jones was primarily interested in Mexico, but, reflecting the influence of Thomas L. Kane's grand scheme to establish a corridor to a Mormon kingdom in Sonora, he sought a route by which not only convenient access to Mexico could be had but which would also sustain a Mormon community along the way. As Jones traveled to and from Mexico, he passed through the Little Colorado country on both trips and returned fully convinced that a Mormon community could be established there.[18]

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[17] George Q. Cannon, who spoke after Young at the same conference, had this to say of the president's determination to proceed:

> "The President, in his remarks this morning, alluded to Arizona, and to the labors of our pioneering brethren in that Territory. I was very much pleased to hear what he said in relation to that. I am thankful to see that, in his remarks, there was no disposition to let up, or to say 'I am in years now, and I will lay back and take my ease and leave the burdens of this work to younger men who ought to step forward and shoulder it'. . . . I believe it was a true remark, that if he had been in Arizona, there would have been good places found for settlement."

Journal of Discourses, XVI, 143-44.

[18] Passing east from Moencopi to Oraibi, then southeast to about the present site of Holbrook, and then west along the course of the river on the out trip and coming back by way of Silver Creek, the Jones party probably came in broader contact with the Little Colorado than any previous exploration. See Daniel W. Jones, Forty Years Among the Indians (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor's Office, 1890), pp. 227-28. Anthony W. Ivins, a member of the party, was much impressed with the country's prospects as a grazing region and even found some promising farm land but soberly reflected as he studied the river that "the channel of the river is wide with quick sand bottom and would probably

Meanwhile, a more restricted but more thorough exploration was conducted under James S. Brown, who established headquarters at Moencopi late in 1875. During the next two years, he made northern Arizona including the Little Colorado the object of an intensive exploration. Among other things, he located the first area of colonization on the Little Colorado, opened an alternative, though dry and unattractive wagon route from Moencopi to the Little Colorado by way of Oraibi, and became thoroughly acquainted with the Indian country of northern Arizona and northwestern New Mexico.[19]

The Lower River Villages and Indian Missions: 1876

On March 23, 1876, Lot Smith, who is best known in Mormon history for his role in the Utah War, led the vanguard of colonization onto the Little Colorado River. Arriving less than a month before the first

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be difficult to control." For his account of the trip through the Little Colorado, see "Anthony Woodward Ivins Journal," pp. 39-42.

[19] It is interesting to note in connection herewith that little came of Brown's effort. His tedious probing with its dry marches and physical hardships [Brown had earlier lost a leg and was no longer a young man at this time] was to naught. His knowledge of the region was personal and beyond a few generalities was never committed to writing, or if it was, was not extensively circulated. The parallel between Mormon exploration as carefully and tediously conducted as it was and Cozzens' quick impressions of the Little Colorado is apparent. Both, unlike the scientific men of the surveys of the same period, were subjective, their effectiveness as guides to policy greatly reduced by such variables as weather conditions and the mood of the explorer. James S. Brown, Life of a Pioneer (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons, Co., 1900), pp. 448-477.

of the Boston immigrants appeared, Smith and his colleagues initiated an era of Mormon colonization that extended well into the 1890's. However, the period of most active location was restricted to four years, and by 1880 most of the Little Colorado Basin settlements had been founded and the form of the colony well established.

The pattern of settlement during those four years fell into three rather distinct geographic and chronological phases. The first began and ended in 1876 and was confined to the establishment of four villages about midway along the Little Colorado River's course and of two mission communities, one at Moencopi and one at Savoia, south of Fort Wingate in New Mexico. During 1877 and 1878, a second series of villages were located, this time along the river's major tributary, Silver Creek. The third and final phase took place in 1879 and 1880 along the upper part of the river, thus completing the basic physical outline of the colony.

In 1876 the area of major colonizing effort was focused upon what may be termed the lower valley of the Little Colorado River. An inauspicious spot, its choice was the result of several factors. In the first place, its settlers had few alternatives, most of the variables having been fixed in one way or another. The general area had been designated as a place of Mormon settlement by the church leaders with even the very paucity of its agricultural prospects being considered as a reccommendation. This point of view which was well known to the colonists was part of the isolationist policy of the church. George Q. Cannon forcibly expressed the idea in reference to northern Arizona some three years before colonization was initiated when he said:

> If there be deserts in Arizona, thank God for the deserts. If there be a wilderness, there, thank God for the wilderness. . . . When we go hence to extend our borders we must not expect to find a land of orange or lemon groves, a land where walnut trees and hard timber abound; where bees are wild and turkeys can be had for the shooting. It is vain for us to expect to settle in such a land at the present time. But if we find a little oasis in the desert where a few can settle, thank God for the oasis, and thank him for the almost interminable road that lies between that oasis and so-called civilization.[20]

In addition to the widely shared belief that northern Arizona was "Mormon country," Brigham Young's determination to incorporate it into the kingdom reduced the alternatives available to the colonists. Apparent in his instructions and his chiding, if indulgent threats to come to Arizona to show his followers where and how to settle, his determination was also clearly mirrored in the men he chose to direct the exploration and initial phase of settlement. In James S. Brown, Daniel W. Jones, and Lot Smith, who were all three veterans of Utah's frontier, he had three men of remarkably similar qualities. Each was willing to override all obstacles, social and natural, to carry out the prophet's instruction. Each was contentious and offended his subordinates, but their loyalty was dogged and unquestioning and none of them was likely to quit until directed to do so.

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[20] Journal of Discourses, XVI, 143-44

Another factor that limited selection was the need to break the long journey south into manageable segments. Whether it was viewed as it had been by Brigham Young and Thomas L. Kane as a corridor to a Mormon outpost in Mexico or merely as the road to Arizona, prospect of increased migration made the development of a Mormon community on the lower river something of an imperative. Draft animals and other livestock, to say nothing of the pioneers themselves, would have found deeper penetration most difficult if not indeed impossible without a way station at this point.

A final consideration limiting alternatives was the fact that the lower river was open. Higher up and on Silver Creek, settlers had already claimed the likely agricultural spots and showed no immediate inclination to abandon them. Thus, though not particularly desirable, the lower river area's availability did provide a place of beginning from which it was hoped a community of villages could be extended not only along the entire course of the river but also south to the Salt River Valley, to Mexico and, the faithful were confident, in time to fill the American continents both north and south.

Prompted by these and other factors, the first of the Little Colorado River settlements were established adjacent to the projected thirty-fifth parallel railroad route which followed the course of the Little Colorado across much of northern Arizona.[21] Arriving on the river, the advance parties met at a rendezvous chosen by James S. Brown near present Joseph City. There they grouped in fifties according to an organization effected earlier in Salt Lake City with Lot Smith, William C. Allen, George Lake, and Jesse O. Ballinger each heading a party, the former apparently asserting general authority over the entire mission. After further exploration which included plowing occasional furrows in an attempt to determine the mineral content of the soil, Ballinger and Smith retraced their steps westward about twenty-five miles to locate near Sunset Crossing. Allen stayed at or near the rendezvous north of the river, and the Lake company crossed to the south side of the river and established their settlement in a low and, as it proved, unhealthy spot about three miles downstream. Thus, within a few days of arrival, four sites were located, with two in close proximity to each other at either end of a twenty-five-mile stretch.[22]

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[21] Paradoxically, the prospect of building a railroad in the region appears to have figured in Brigham Young's fixation on the country. See letters of Brigham Young to Albert Carrington, April 19, 1873 and to Joseph W. Young, April 24, 1873, Brigham Young Letter Book for 1873, CHO.

[22] There was evidently a little shifting done in the location of the villages in the months that followed. As was the Mormon practice, attention was given to the recommendations of church authorities in matters of location, and some change was occasioned by the visit of Counselor Daniel H. Wells in July of 1876. It was said that George Lake and his followers ignored Wells' counsel and remained in a low, malarial spot where their town quickly failed, as much the result of ignoring counsel as it was the choice of an unhealthy location. One source recorded

During the earliest months, the camps were known by the name of their respective captains of fifty. It was not long, however, until Lake's Camp was renamed Obed or Camp Obed and Smith's Camp took the name of Sunset from the river crossing near which it was situated. The first attempts to give permanent names to the other camps were less successful and they were known generally as Ballinger's Camp and Allen's Camp until 1878 when they were renamed Brigham City and St. Joseph, respectively, after Brigham Young and Joseph Smith.[23]

Once townsites had been selected, settlers wasted no time before beginning to build dams and plant crops. In these endeavors their

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the passing of Lake's Camp or Obed as follows:

> "In consequence of the location of Obed being in a low swampy place (contrary to the counsel of President D. H. Wells) the chills and fever raged . . . and at this date [1877] it was abandoned and George Lake with a portion of his company joined with Ballinger's and the remainder joined with Sunset, and Allen's"

See "Joseph City Ward History," compiled by Rulon Porter, CHO (copy in hands of writer), pp. 3, 30. A modern student of the Little Colorado Mission attributes the disease that plagued Obed to bad water rather than to malarial infestation. In his opinion, they likely picked up some form of typhoid due to the conditions of their water source. See Kenneth Porter, "Little Colorado River Settlements, Brigham City, Joseph City, Obed, and Sunset" (unpublished Master's thesis, Arizona State University at Tempe, 1956), p. 39.

[23] John W. Young, a son and counselor of Brigham Young, gave them these names at the time he organized the Little Colorado Stake in 1878. The "Joseph City Ward History," p. 4 and the "History of the Little Colorado Stake," compiled by Andrew Jenson, CHO, each have accounts of this naming. One missionary wrote in 1876 that George Lake had named his town "Obed, which means 'to serve God,'" that Ballinger was planning to name his town Cumorah after the hill in New York where Mormonism had its beginnings, and that after some discussion it had been concluded to call Allen's Camp, Allen City. See Deseret News, June 14, 1876.

efforts were joint or communal with each camp working as a unit.[24] Although they planted fewer acres than they originally hoped, they encountered little difficulty in clearing and breaking ground and putting in crops.

Water constituted a far more difficult problem. Most of the colonists were young men from northern Utah communities where they likely had not had much experience in dealing with the kinds of problems presented by the Little Colorado River; nevertheless, they appear to have had some idea as to what needed to be done. Examining the river, they chose the most promising sites, and, while Samuel Ladd, the colony's one trained surveyor, laid out ditches, immediately began work on their dams. Constructed with the most limited equipment, these were long and low, made primarily of trees, brush, and dirt and rock fill. The dam at Allen's Camp, which was completed on June 6 after two and a half months, stretched 180 feet across the river and was reported to be sixty feet thick and nine feet high.[25] Although logs had been riprapped in and a great quantity of rock used, it held only until July 19 when the first real flood of the year swept it away. At Brigham City the flood cut a new path some 150 feet distance from the dam, leaving it high, dry, and useless. Thereafter, the toil of construction and the agony of watching the dams go out were oft-repeated experiences on the lower river and, as we shall see, of the entire colony. Church leaders sought to prepare the settlers for such reverses, characteristically admonishing them to persist and learn by failure and at the same time promising better days. But water development was more than a matter of persistence; it was also a question of sustaining life and it was frequently only by the utmost thrift and by heavy subsidy that settlers were able to do so.

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[24] Following the direction of church leaders the settlers lived in the United Order as Mormon communalism was called. See Chapter V.

[25] There is some conflict as to the dimensions of this first dam. I have used figures given by Joseph W. McMurrin quoted in the Deseret News, June 14, 1876. According to the Arizona Miner, June 23, 1876, it was "180 feet long, 40 feet wide, and 18 feet high."

Unfortunately, farm production tended to vary inversely with the effort to develop water; when they struggled hardest, the season's end often found them with the least to show for it. Dams were gone, ditches cut, and little or nothing raised. In 1876 only Sunset produced a crop and it was said to have been no more than seventy-five bushels of grain and a few melons. Other camps apparently had nothing to show for their efforts. Later they did somewhat better; indeed, there came a time when the afterglow of memory rested upon certain of the original pioneers that Sunset was recalled as the "Egypt of Arizona"[26] from whose granaries later settlements were succored in their own time of need. In 1877 and 1878, St. Joseph harvested 662 and 900 bushels of grain, respectively, and in the latter year the village also produced 1200 gallons of molasses.

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[26] Deseret News, October 30, 1878.

With its production rising to 7000 bushels of wheat and corn in 1879, Sunset had a surplus which judiciously distributed by Lot Smith helped carry the immigration of 1879-80 through one of the worst winters experienced during the entire Little Colorado colonization.[27]

Without fully anticipating the difficulties encountered in establishing the new colony, the church had been deeply concerned with the isolation of its position and from the first had taken steps to make it as self-sufficient as possible. With this in mind, Brigham Young had planned to equip the mission of 1873 with both a steam sawmill and a gristmill. Ordered and started south, these were diverted to other use when the mission failed. With the revival of colonization, mills were sent to Arizona--the sawmill in 1876 and the gristmill the following year.[28]

Generally cautious in its Indian policy, the church was especially anxious to avoid difficulties on this far frontier. Fearing attack and the loss of life, leaders were also apprehensive that discord would invite unfavorable attention to their expansive designs, and they admonished settlers to proceed with the utmost caution, leaving no effort unmade to establish good relations with the Indians.[29]

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[27] For production records, see "Joseph City Ward History," pp. 25-35 and "Wilford Woodruff's Journal, January 1st to February 7th, 1880," handwritten copy in CHO, entry for October 1, 1879.

[28] Although I have seen no direct evidence, I am virtually certain that the Mt. Trumbull mill that was sent to Arizona was the one originally marked for the Arizona Mission. Not needed in Arizona, it was used to saw lumber for the St. George Temple. When this task was completed, it was sent on. For information relative to the two mills sent south in 1873, see Brigham Young's letter "To the Bishops south," May 16, 1873 and to L. W. Roundy, May 29, 1873, Brigham Young Letter Book for 1873, CHO. For information about the two mills that sawed the lumber for the temple, see Bleak, Book B, pp. 281, 287, 288.

Church leaders also directed colonists to construct forts as quickly as circumstances would permit. Although there was very little fear among the settlers, they complied, building as one of them stated "merely as a precautionary measure in case of possible future contingencies."[30] Following similar plans, each camp began construction of hollow, square forts. Varying in size from about 190 feet to 225 feet square, they were made of materials available at the various villages--Sunset and Allen's Camp using cottonwood logs and Brigham City and Obed, the red sandstone that lay in good supply in their neighborhoods. Writing as plans were being laid, Joseph McMurrin explained that the Allen's Camp structure would be "built of cottonwood timbers, set firmly in the ground, the walls nine feet high, and of double thickness of logs, surrounded on the inside with houses 12 feet by 26 feet."[31] Within easy reach of fields, corrals, and stackyards, the forts encompassed wells, shops, and communal mess facilities as well as the housing for the villagers. Though they anticipated no immediate difficulty, the forts were built with the serious purpose of defense in mind. Elevated guard-houses that extended from the walls were built at two and in some cases four corners, and loopholes constituted the only openings on the outward sides of the homes which comprised the walls of the fort.[32]

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[29] Characteristic of such instructions was a long letter from Brigham Young to Lorenzo Hatch, who had been sent to New Mexico to head up the Indian Mission there. Laying the problem before him, Brigham Young wrote:

> "We desire to impress upon your mind . . . the great necessity of giving no cause of offense to either white or red men. There will no doubt be bad men who will watch for some pretext to get the U.S. officials to interfere with you. To guard as much as possible against these contingencies, be prudent and prayerful. . . ."

See letter of September 25, 1876, Brigham Young Letter Book, CHO.

[30] Letter of Joseph McMurrin, Deseret News, July 19, 1876.

At Obed, Brigham City, and Sunset, the forts were probably the only homes ever used, as the villages were deserted before permanent homes were constructed. Even at St. Joseph, the fort was used for many years before private homes fully supplanted it.

Also part of the earliest colonization was the establishment of settlements at Moencopi and Savoia. Beginning in 1873, John D. Lee, Jacob Hamblin, John L. Blythe, and a few other missionaries lived intermittently at Moencopi, but it was not until James S. Brown's arrival there in December of 1875 that a stable village was founded. Building what was called the "old mission house," Brown and his associates, including Andrew S. Gibbons, Thales Haskell, and M. P. Mortensen, explored and carried on missionary work as well as providing a way station for the migration of 1876 and 1877. In 1878 Erastus Snow and several others designated the site of Tuba City about two miles north of Moencopi, which became the main location of Mormon settlement. However, John W. Young, who had first come into the country with Jacob Hamblin in 1858, established a trading post and woolen mill at Moencopi in 1879. His choice of Moencopi rather than Tuba City may have been predicated upon the greater availability of water to run the two hundred spindles of his mill and the thought that the wool trade of the Indians might be more easily exploited at the old village. The fortunes of his enterprises are not known except that Young turned his back upon Moencopi when opportunities for railroad contracting and cattle ranching developed during the 1880's. Rising to as many as 125 people in the early years of that decade, Tuba City's population remained small and the Mormon claims were eventually turned over to the United States after the turn of the century.[33]

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[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid. Writing in 1878, L. J. Nuttal left descriptions of several of the forts. Possibly the best of these, his description of the Brigham City fort follows:

> "The fort is 200 feet square, a drive way on north and south sides and narrow entrance on east and west. The walls are seven feet high, of rock; there are 36 dwelling houses 13 x 15 feet around the inside of the fort, also on the north side, a dining hall 20 x 80 feet. . . . Adjoining the dining hall (on the outside) is a kitchen 20 x 25 feet, also a bakehouse and oven. There are also six dwelling houses adjoining the west side and six partly built on the south side of the fort, a good cellar 18 x 18 feet, and a storehouse built there on; also a good well 25 feet deep, furnishing sufficient water for family and culinary purposes. In side the fort also, another well 24 feet deep near the kitchen. Good corrals and stackyards south of the fort."

See Deseret News, October 23, 1878. Also see plans of the Brigham City and Sunset forts in "History of the Little Colorado Stake."

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[33] See "Joseph City Ward History," pp. 38-39.

Attracted by remarkable success in the first effort to proselyte among the Zuni Indians, Brigham Young dispatched Lorenzo H. Hatch and John Maughn to western New Mexico in the summer of 1876. Settling first at a place they called San Lorenzo, they were joined by William McAllister, E. A. Teitjen, and L. C. Burnham before the year was out. On the first of January, 1877, Hatch and Maughn inspected what they called "Matelanies Ranch" in Savoia Valley at some twelve miles distance from their earlier settlement. Pleased with the place, they immediately commenced a village there as well. In 1878 Ammon M. Tenney replaced Hatch as president of the mission and with his father and several brothers moved into the area. Decimated by a smallpox epidemic and not encouraged by any real success among the Indians, San Lorenzo appears to have been abandoned entirely and Savoia nearly so with only E. A. Tietjen remaining. Resettled after 1880, Savoia was called Navajo for a time and finally given the name of Ramah. By 1844 its population amounted to about a hundred people who maintained themselves by freighting to nearby Fort Wingate, trading with the Indians, and a little farming and livestock-raising.[34]

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[34] For the best account of Ramah's early history, see Irving Teller, "Ramah, New Mexico 1876-1900 An Historical Episode with some Value Analysis," Utah Historical Quarterly, XXI (April 1953), pp. 117-136. Also see "Joseph City Ward History," p. 41 and Joseph Fish, "History of the Eastern Arizona Stake of Zion and of the Establishment of the Snowflake Stake, 1879-1893 (hereafter cited "History of the Eastern Arizona Stake"), p. 66. This manuscript history exists in typed form in several copies. One of these in the CHO; another is in the hands of Silas L.

Settlement on Silver Creek

Although Hatch and Maughn found stable Indian and Mexican communities and even a few white settlers in western New Mexico, the Mormon settlements of 1876 were established at spots previously unclaimed. Most of the later villages, however, including Savoia which was located early in 1877, were made at sites claimed by earlier settlers.

It is thus plain that the Bostonians and Mormons were not the only people interested in northern Arizona. By 1876 stockmen were beginning to recognize the worth of the country. Boosters wrote that 200,000 head of sheep were coming into it from California and that other outfits boasting no fewer than fifty employees were approaching from New Mexico.[35] Such talk was not entirely empty promotion. Both James Brown and Daniel W. Jones had been spurred on in their explorations of the previous winter by the presence of large herds of sheep. Furthermore, in the short weeks between Brown's exploration of the lower river and the establishment of villages there, five settlers had taken up one of the sites he had hoped to see the Mormons occupy.[36]

Fish, Phoenix, Arizona. The whereabouts of the four additional copies is not known.

[35] Deseret News, June 7, 1876.

[36] No definite word as to where these settlers were located has been found, but the fact that several Mexicans are reported to have been living at Horsehead Crossing, later Holbrook, when Lot Smith

The upper part of the Little Colorado Basin had been settled even earlier. Beginning in 1871, farmers had located at Round Valley in sufficient numbers to attract a New Mexican merchant named Springer who founded a store and gave his name to the town of Springerville which was well established by 1876. In 1873 Solomon Barth and a handful of Mexican retainers founded St. Johns at a spot about twenty-five miles down stream from Round Valley. By the time of the earliest Mormon visits, Barth's town was a squalid village of a dozen or so flat-topped mud houses. During the years immediately before 1876, Silver Creek, too, had been settled by several ranchers. Charles Cooley, whose accommodation to his Apache neighbors included a bigamous marriage, lived on the west branch at a fertile spot later known as Showlow. About halfway down the creek lived James Stinson, who by 1876 was farming successfully at Silver Creek Valley, later Snowflake, and running stock along the creek north to its juncture with the Little Colorado. Richard Bailey and James Scott claimed Spring Valley and the forks of Silver Creek some miles south of Stinson's.

Although thorough explorations during the summer of 1876 indicated that the prospects of continued expansion were rather dim, earlier

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and his followers arrived and that no other reference to ranchers on the lower river has been found leads the writer to believe that it was to the Horsehead Crossing settlers that Brown referred when he reported: "Between this time and my previous visit five houses had been built there, so our purpose was interfered with a little." See Brown, p. 460.

claimants soon began to abandon their claims or sell them to the newcomers. The first break occurred before Christmas of 1876 when James Scott gave up a claim to a spot about twenty-five miles above Allen's Camp near the confluence of Silver Creek and the Little Colorado. Moving quickly, a few men from Allen's Camp occupied the site, spending the winter there working on a ditch. In the spring they were joined by others including Nathan Tenney and his sons. The following winter Lorenzo H. Hatch was transferred to the new settlement and traded his New Mexico property for the Tenney holdings. Located in a well-grassed but dry valley south of a black volcanic butte which dominated the countryside for miles around, the place was soon named Woodruff and embarked on what proved to be a long drawn-out struggle for existence.

During 1878 several other places along Silver Creek became available to Mormon colonization. Visiting the territory in September of that year, Erastus Snow found no fewer than six new settlements on the creek and one, Forest Dale, located just beyond it on the Salt River side of the Mogollon Rim which we shall consider as one with the Silver Creek towns. L. John Nuttal, who served as historian on Snow's tour, noted that about 175 colonists were already living on Silver Creek in settlements that varied in numbers from thirty-five at Forest Dale to twenty-two at Cluff's near Showlow.[37] According to Nuttal's account, none of the Silver Creek villages had been established before 1878 unless it was Cluff's which had been purchased in January from a "Brother Dalton, who had previously located" there.[38]

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[37] Deseret News, October 30, 1878.

The experience of the Cluff family was not unusual. Arriving on the west branch of Silver Creek, or Showlow Creek as it came to be called, in the latter part of January, they found two Gentile partners Cooley and Clark in possession of most of the valley. However, the upper portion, a canyon about "two and a half miles long and from one quarter to three quarters of a mile wide," was claimed by Dalton. For $200 they bought out his 160-acre claim. During 1878 they were able to add an additional 100 acres of tillable land, some by purchase and the rest by clearing timber. Crops were thriving at the time of Snow's visit, though the Cluffs rightly feared that they would not do so well other years. Four log houses had been constructed and Cluff was planning to set up both a sawmill and a gristmill. In addition to the aged Mr. Cluff, who at 84 years must have been among the oldest of the Little Colorado Immigrants, the community was composed of his son Moses and a Bro. Jensen, giving it a total population of "three men, four wom- seven boys and eight girls."[39] Similar ranches appeared in descending order at Reidhead about six miles north of Cluff's, at Silver Creek Crossing which later became Solomon, and at two sites in Walter's Valley or Bagley near present-day Taylor. Although the Snow party makes no reference to them, a few other families appear to have been established at isolated spots on the Silver Creek drainage by this time as well.

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[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid.

The communities enumerated above lay between two larger settlements. At the extreme south, eight miles beyond Cluff's, was Forest Dale, a beautiful spot as its name implies, which because of its proximity to the White River Apaches had not attracted earlier attention. Located in a timbered valley where the waters of seven springs join to form the head of Carrizo Creek, it was discovered by Oscar Cluff in the fall of 1877. After sending his brother Alfred and Joseph H. Frisby to the San Carlos Apache Agency and ascertaining, as they thought, that the site was not on the reservation, the Cluffs soon filed claim on the place. This action was taken with the full cognizance of the San Carlos Indian agent who encouraged the move, as in his judgment the establishment of white settlements in the vicinity would tend to hold the foot-loose Apaches on the reservation. During the spring of 1878, a dozen or so families, including those of Ebenezer Thayne, Llewelyn Harris, and Oscar Mann, moved to the location. By the time of Erastus Snow's visit in September, the colony had erected thirteen houses, dug several wells, and had 180 acres under cultivation. Giving his full approval in spite of discomfiting rumors that the place was on the reservation, Snow helped lay out a townsite and set up a church organization.

Soon after Snow's visit, Thayne and Harris, who were Indian missionaries, invited a few Apache families to join the community. Much to the consternation of less altruistically inclined members of the village, the Apaches appeared in goodly numbers. By April of 1879, they had pressed their right to the valley as part of the reservation with such effect that all but a few of the settlers who stayed as Indian missionaries moved to the Gila Valley.[40] Soon even the missionary families departed, and Forest Dale was literally left to the Indians, who once their claim was unchallenged shortly lost interest themselves.

In 1881 it was rumored that Forest Dale was after all not on the reservation and open to settlement. Losing no time, William Crookston and others from Brigham City, which was failing rapidly, resettled Forest Dale. The following spring after crops were in, the Indians once again asserted their rights. In a futile attempt to placate them, the settlers gave them thirty acres of corn, but, unappeased, the irate Apaches shortly chased the Mormons from Forest Dale, which it was finally and definitively decided was part of the reservation. Thus, the Little Colorado Mormons failed in two efforts to pre-empt this peripheral bit of land, not because of thin soils, short growing seasons, or even water development, but because of Indian resistance to their approach and the decision which ultimately placed it within the reservation.[41]

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[40] If the commentary of Ebenezer Thayne, who was sympathetic toward the Indians, can be depended upon, this first transfer of property from the Mormons to the Indians was accomplished with a good deal of graciousness and did not badly mar relations between them. Writing on April 10, 1879, he explained the situation as follows:

> "When these Indians first came into this place, they found the land all taken up by the brethren, and very few of the brethren were willing to divide with them, so we were at a loss what to do. Bishop Mann deeming it advisable went and had a conversation with Brother Jesse Smith, he being president of this Stake of Zion. He counseled the brethren to give up the land to the Indians and seek new homes for themselves in some other locality. As soon as this was arranged, Bishop Mann and myself, accompanied by Bro. Llewelyn Harris, the interpreter, went to inform the Indians of the decision that we were going to leave the valley for them. The chief said he was very sorry for this, he said he did not want us all to leave them. . . . We promised him that we would not go more than five or six miles from here, and that we would visit him often, and we would plow and help them plant some corn, but as we thought that this valley was on the reservation, we did not think we could stay here at present."

Deseret News, May 14, 1879.

The last of the Silver Creek sites to fall into Mormon hands during 1878 was Stinson's Ranch. Favorably impressed with it from the first, they evidently made no serious effort to acquire it until mid-summer of that year. James Stinson, who Jesse N. Smith described as a "jolly Irishman of doubtful morals,"[42] had come to the valley about 1873 and during the interim had developed a prosperous farm and ranching operation. Claiming all the waters of Silver Creek, he had about three hundred acres under irrigation at the time of the purchase. Other improvements included several flat Mexican-style houses and farm buildings and a surprising amount of machinery.

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[41] McClintock's treatment of this incident is the best available; see pp. 170-73. A group of the exiles petitioned for relief through Arizona's Senator Henry Ashurst in 1916; claims varied from $2000 to $15,000 in amounts. See U.S., Journal of Senate, 64 Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 80, 118. Some additional information may be found in the Deseret News, October 30, 1878, March 19, April 23, and May 14, 1879.

[42] Journal of Jesse N. Smith, p. 224.

Considered in the light of the communalism that had characterized much of the Mormon settlement to this point, the purchase of Stinson's property by William J. Flake was a notable bit of individual action. Flake, who had been called to leave Utah permanently and build up northern Arizona, had found life at the United Order villages to be almost intolerable. In an effort to fulfill the larger measure of his call, he withdrew from the order and after considerable scouting contracted to buy Stinson out for $12,000. Payment of $11,000 was to be made in 550 Utah cattle in three annual installments. The final $1,000 Flake arranged to work out, and he along with other Mormons harvested Stinson's crops that fall to complete the deal.

Taken without leave of the local authorities, Flake's action was sharply criticized by his fellow colonists. Feeling the pressure of their displeasure, he set out toward Utah to gain the ear of Erastus Snow who was approaching and easily won his wholehearted endorsement. Shortly thereafter, Snow found Flake and a handful of settlers located at two sites in the valley. Joining these into one community which he called Snowflake, Snow laid out a townsite in the characteristic Mormon form with large square blocks and wide streets. At his suggestion, the town did not enter the United Order but followed a more limited form of communalism whereby its land was distributed among incoming settlers. Dividing it into city lots and ten-acre field plots of two qualities, a committee valued each city lot at $30 and each "first-class" ten-acre field plot at $110, while the "second-class" plots went for $60. Each participant was to receive one unit of each category giving him property valued at $200 or ten head of cattle. Flake, who himself is said to have taken only one share, was paid for his earlier claim to the land by most, but not by all, of those who moved in as neighbors.[43]

Snowflake quickly became a center of Mormon settlement in Arizona. Among the early comers were a large number of southern Saints. These people had come empty-handed to Arizona from Georgia and Arkansas the year before and by the fall of 1878 were reduced to the tattered remnants of their personal effects. Settling first in the United Order villages, they had neither thrived nor been easily assimilated by the Utah immigrants. They came now to Flake, who was also a southerner, and for months he and Stinson provided foodstuffs for quite a number of families.[44]

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[43] See "Diary of Joseph West Smith," original in hands of Lenora Smith Rogers, typed copy at BYU. Joseph Fish, who headed the committee of distribution, clearly states that one lot and one plot of each of the two grades of land was turned over to each settler. It appears, however, that some complications of this simple formula featured in the actual distribution. Flake, Jesse N. Smith, and likely others evidently took lands for their minor children. Smith, for example, received four city lots. See Journal of Jesse N. Smith, p. 233. Several years later, his son Joseph W. Smith wrote: "This fall we divided the land and teams. Or, more properly speaking, father gave some to Jesse and me. I received the 'ten' known as the Grass-land,' five across the creek, and five acres across the wash--twenty acres in all." The elder Smith had evidently drawn land for his sons and in due time as they came of age redistributed it to them. It is not clear to what extent this practice prevailed. See "Diary of Joseph West Smith," p. 54.

St. Johns and the Upper Little Colorado: 1879-80

The third and final area of colonization was the upper Little Colorado River. As indicated previously, a number of Gentile settlers were well established along its course. This being the case, the area, like Silver Creek, did not at first attract Mormon attention although the elders of the Zuni Mission traveled through it and must have been well acquainted with it before the end of 1876.

The earliest real indication that the Mormons intended to extend their colonies in that direction was manifest by Erastus Snow who planned to include a visit to St. Johns in his tour of the mission in 1878. Frustrated in this design by the pressures of his itinerary, Snow nevertheless instructed local leaders to look into the matter generally and if possible to purchase the town of St. Johns. In compliance with these directives, L. H. Hatch and Jesse N. Smith made separate trips in January of 1879 with the intention of buying part or all of St. Johns in the interest of the incoming migration. The latter, at least, had been instructed to buy the place and make his home there, but was so little impressed by its appearances and its settlers, whom he thought to be "low in the scale of intelligence,"[45] that he returned to Snowflake without consummating the deal. Later in the same year, Ammon M. Tenney became interested in the prospects of a Mormon settlement there and called it to the attention of church leaders including Wilford Woodruff, who was in exile on the Little Colorado at the time. At Tenney's invitation, Woodruff visited St. Johns after which he took a keen interest in it.

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[44] The extent of their need is clearly apparent in the comment of Flake's wife Lucy: "We had to take sacks and cut up for pateloons /pantaloons/ they was so destitute." See "Autobiography and Diary of Lucy Hannah White Flake," original and typescript copy at BYU, I, 69.

Laying out a plan of colonization which would, it was hoped, result in the total expulsion of Gentiles, Woodruff directed Tenney to buy the holdings of Solomon Barth, the town's founder and main figure. After some negotiating, Tenney made the purchase, paying Barth 750 Utah cattle for the original purchase. Barth contrived to hold back an important water right, and it was necessary to make an additional purchase at the heavy price of $7500, again payable in Utah cows. The total sum paid was subsequently given by Church Historian Andrew Jenson as $19,000, almost all of which was forwarded by the church in the form of tithing cattle.[46]

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[45] Journal of Jesse N. Smith, p. 232.

[46] McClintock, p. 179. This price seemed far out of line to Mormons of the era, as well it might, for Barth, Stinson and others had found this new briskness in the market to their liking and played it to the hilt. More than a year after he first evinced interest in St. Johns and ten months after Smith and Hatch had tried to negotiate its purchase, Erastus Snow wrote the following relative to the increment in price:

> "In reply to your enquires about the proposed purchase of the St. Johns property in Arrizona and secureing that key to the Little Col-

In keeping with Woodruff's aggressive policy, Tenney was instructed to take up surrounding lands before the St. Johns deal became public and alerted non-Mormons to the church's designs. Men were called from the four towns on the lower Little Colorado and elsewhere in the mission to locate as Tenney directed. In order to accommodate the largest possible number of settlers, sharp limits were placed on the amount of land available to any one man, with the purchase cost being prorated to $8 per acre for land and $25 for city lots. Adamant in their determination that the purchase was to be used in behalf of the community, Woodruff and John W. Young addressed the following denunciation of private speculation to all parties involved:

> . . . and we wish it distinctly understood, by the Saints who settle there that we do not expect to enter into any speculation in the purchase of this country, for ourselves or our Brethren. Our labors, in these matters are for the building-up of Zion, and the settling of the Saints. We have figured this matter as closely as we can, and we feel that we cannot put the Land and Lots at any lower price. When the land and lots are sold, and the debts paid, if there is anything left, it will be returned, pro. rata, to those who have paid

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orado region; as also the meadows on that stream I beg to recommend that you send men from the North to purchase and settle that place under the Supervision of Elders Woodruff and Jesse N. Smith--I advised this move a year ago as important for that country. But the settlers going to Arrizonia seemed either unable or unwilling to do so probably did not then see as they now do the necessity of it. Five thousand Dollares part cash & rest Stock might have secured it then. But double that is doughtless required now to accomplish it /it ultimately took nearly four times that amount/; and still more the longer is delayed. Some 30 men with $10,000 surplus propperty could do it by employing wise forerunners to make the purches--Say I. N. Hinclyey /Hinckley/ or such like men."
See letter of Erastus Snow to President John Taylor &Council, November 1879, Erastus Snow Letter Box, CHO.

> for the land: and if we fall short of the payment, we consider it right and just that those who have purchased the land, shall also pay, pro. rata. . . .[47]

By mid-March, the Mormon build-up had established small communities at Concho and the Meadows, twenty-five and eight miles downstream, respectively, and St. Johns itself was reported to have a population of 190 Mormons. Barth and the Gentiles showing no sign of withdrawing from St. Johns, Woodruff rushed back to Utah in time for April Conference and pushed through a call for a hundred families to join those already there. Calls to reinforce St. Johns were also made in 1881 and 1884, but, a rapid growth of population notwithstanding, the plan to make St. Johns a tight Mormon community failed. Not only did the plan of monopolization fail, but seeds of discord that cankered the course of the little town's history for many years were sown.

Other settlements were also established on the upper part of the river. Geographically, the first of these was at Round Valley. Visited early in 1879 by Peter J. Christofferson and others from St. Joseph, the first ranch there was acquired during the same spring by William J. Flake. Others followed suit, and a Mormon community soon came into existence. Until a relatively late date, the Mormons were unable to acquire any of the large, centrally located farms on which to base a village and were forced to content themselves with bits of peripheral land. In 1882 scattered locations rather than the number of settlers required a division of the Round Valley Mormons into two wards--one of which was know as Amity and the other as Omer. In 1888 during a drive to bring scattered elements together, a townsite was located two miles south of Springerville. Reflecting this joint action, the new town was called Union, but, as the circumstances that led to its establishment paled, the name fell into disuse, and it has subsequently been known as Eager after prominent residents of that name.

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[47] Letter "To the Saints at St. Johns," February 19, 1880, LeSueur Papers, Arizona Pioneer Historical Society Library, Tucson, Arizona (hereafter cited APHS). In the LeSueur Papers are about two dozen letters from Wilford Woodruff and other prominent church leaders that provide a sketchy view of the land purchase. Also see Evans Coleman, "St. Johns Purchase," Coleman Papers, APHS.

Farther up the river, a number of other small villages were established during these same years. Important among these were Nutrioso, Greer and Alpine. Located near the New Mexican border at an altitude approximating 8000 feet, Alpine was first settled by a man named Bush whose rights were purchased by William B. Maxwell in 1879. Joined by J. C. Owens, E. A. Noble, the Colemens, and Jacob and Frederick Hamblin, Maxwell ran livestock and did some farming. The ward and town that they organized were first called Frisco and later given the name Alpine. But plagued by Indian raids and killing frosts during every month of the year, its inhabitants remained poor and few in number.[48]

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[48] In writing of the town, Evans Coleman, whose parents brought him to Alpine as a child in 1880, noted that while the town never had "a jail, a saloon or a pool hall," it boasted of the "largest cemetery of any town its size west of the Rio Grande." The course of its history was marked by "sickness, death, heart-aches and adversities. No doctor, no medicine--nothing." After observing, in something of a contradition, that

Nutrioso, a ranch sixteen miles southeast of Springerville which had been named in Spanish for the otter and the bear, was first visited by grain-hungry Mormons and then purchased in the spring of 1879. First occupied by Albert Minerly, Adam Greenwood, George Peck and John Burke, its population grew to 130 by 1884, but like Alpine it never transcended the difficulties of its isolation and has since been almost totally abandoned. Nutrioso's early development was paralleled by that of Greer, which lay in Lee's Valley to the southwest of Springerville. After its beginning in 1879, it soon came under the domination of a southern convert Thomas Lacy Greer, who made it part of an extensive ranching operation.

Greer, along with Nutrioso and Alpine, had much in common with the mountain villages along the upper part of Silver Creek. There was a unity in their remoteness which in a day of horse traffic and limited communications effectively barred them from even such modest cultural benefits as St. Johns and Snowflake came to boast. There was also unity in their poverty and in their financial interests which grew out of a geographic and ecclesiastical determinism simultaneously limiting their economy and lending diverse impulses to it that helped form the essential character of these mountain towns.

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it was an easy place to live as nothing but time could be spent there, Coleman concluded his narrative with wry humor and tempered bitterness: "In about 1886 the people of Alpine made two startling discoveries. One was; that a man would never get wealthy in Alpine; second; fishing bait was plentiful almost any place in the valley." See "History of the Coleman Family," Coleman Papers, APHS, pp. 48-49.

Their beginnings were modest, and as the years passed they developed into something of a cross between a lumber camp and a Mormon village. Instead of taking on an air of permanence as did the lower towns, they long remained poised in a half-transitory condition. Though not beyond the pale of general church interest, they did lie off the beaten path of the periodic church visitations. Even those leaders who, like Brigham Young, Jr., had followed the course of northern Arizona development step by step did not find their way into them with any frequency.

Mountain villages remained small and, as indicated, their poverty was even more grinding than that of other Little Colorado towns. There are doubtlessly many factors that contributed to this fact, among which might be mentioned the subdivisions made for church administration, geography and situation in relation to the railroad, problems of climate and elevation, proximity of Indians and, finally, but not of least importance, the priority arrangement fixed by the church which enabled the lower Little Colorado villages of Woodruff, Snowflake, Taylor, and St. Johns each in its turn to receive substantial subsidies and the help of the church's most capable leaders in times of crisis. Nowhere has record been found that the mountain towns enjoyed similar benefits. Simply put, the communalism of the church did not fully extend to them. In making his choice to establish in one of them, a settler went without expectation of a mission call to build up his community or of other special dispensations in his favor. On the other hand, he was less bound by the Mormon system and made his way with less social restraint and, one may presume, with easier conscience into cow camps, lumber mills, and the freighting roads than did his down-river brother.

By the end of 1880 the process of founding the Mormon colony on the Little Colorado was well under way. Most of its villages had come into being, and most of the relations that subsequently characterized the community had formed. We have seen something of this process and have observed the Mormons moving into the area until by 1880 they had probably come to constitute its most numerous element. However, colonization was just begun and most of the next two decades were consumed in the process of consolidating the claim that had been laid.

CHAPTER III

THE MISSION--AGENCY OF EXPANSION

Variation in Forms

Important among the forms of cooperative living that featured in the extension of the Mormon frontier into northern Arizona was the mission. By 1870 the concept had acquired multiple meanings, all of which were well known to Latter-day Saints and used in their varied applications in both the promotion and the colonization of the Little Colorado River. These may be reduced to four basic forms: (1) the mission as a calling or obligation incumbent upon a chosen people; (2) the mission as specific errand; (3) the mission as a geographic and administrative subdivision; and (4) the mission as means of social mobilization. Although the lines separating these concepts were neither precise nor consistently applied, they all contributed not only to the process of colonization but also to the understanding the Mormon people had of it.

In its broadest context, the mission was the Mormon consciousness of their role as a chosen people gathered out of Babylon, or the wicked Gentile world, and charged with a challenging responsibility in a divine course of events that was to rehabilitate man and lead to the establishment of Christ's personal reign upon the earth. To them fell the rare obligation of making temporal preparations here in America for what they regarded to be the most sublime and important event of history--Christ's second coming.[1] This mission not only held great promise for the broad mass of humanity or the righteous residue thereof but was particularly directed to the American Indians or Lamanites, as the Mormons styled them. In this sense, life itself was the grand mission and all Mormons were missionaries. Expansive movement including the colonization of the Little Colorado Basin was deeply charged by this quality of mission.

Also recognizable as a mission form were those specific errands by which the kingdom's cause was advanced. The earliest of these had been embassies to gather out the elect and to reclaim the fallen remnants of Israel from among the Indians. With the exception of the special emphasis upon enlightening the Indians, such errands conformed in the main to the traditional patterns of the ministry elsewhere on the American frontier.

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[1] Orson Pratt, who was accorded a position almost without peer among early Mormon theologians, made clear the importance and reality of Christ's second coming when he wrote: "There is no event that has ever transpired in our world, of such magnitude and importance as the coming of Christ to reign on earth." See p. 113 in a compilation of speeches and articles by Pratt and others published by R. James at Liverpool, evidently after 1881 as the last number included makes reference to an article of the Tribune published in that year. The only copy of this rare volume that the writer has seen is in the hands of Mrs. Rulon Gallagher of Salt Lake City.

Sidney Rigdon, who also made profound contributions to Mormon thinking, spoke relative to the imminence and import of Christ's coming:

> "On two points hang all the revelations that have ever been given, and those are the two advents of the Messiah. The first is past, and the second is now just before us. . . . There is no part of His creation which will not feel a shock at this grand display of His power."

See Documentary History of the Church, II, 52-53.

However, the reality of God's relationship to the world and the imminence of Christ's coming tended to remove distinctions between the temporal and spiritual, and soon an errand, cash in hand, to redeem Zion was as much an act of mission as the redemption of human souls.

Consequently, Mormons were performing missions of widely differing natures long before the settlement of northern Arizona. Some of these were openly economic, such as those to buy up land in Missouri; others were missions to reap the honest in heart from fields "white already to harvest;" and still others were errands of a political nature as men went to wait upon a President or to proclaim the Presidential candidacy of Joseph Smith and stump for his nomination. Such errands marked the course of the church in Utah and continued to characterize its movement into Arizona as individuals and groups were sent to explore, to settle, or to attend the conversion and regeneration of the Indians.

In yet another context, the mission was an administrative subdivision with more or less precise geographic bounds within which an errand of the kingdom was performed. Over the years, the term "mission" had come to designate not only the confines of a proselyting region where chosen leaders directed a cadre of preaching elders but also the area to which detachments were ordered to claim a strategic spot or to develop some facet of Mormon economy. At least three forms of the mission in this sense may be observed. The first and most ordinary was the organization and area of a proselyting effort such as the Scandinavian Mission or even the various Indian missions. The second was the mission that played some special role in the development of Mormon industrial self-sufficiency of which southern Utah's "Cotton Mission" is a good example. A third form was the mission of expansion whose prime function was to extend the borders of Zion. Despite important idealistic and economic overtones, the preponderance of strategic and political considerations set this mission apart from the other classifications.

In any of these guises, the mission implied some special task or interest that did not fall under the purvey of the ordinary administrative organizations of the church. In the case of the last two, the special need arose in no small measure from the total lack of social organization upon a new frontier and upon its geographic remoteness. Task forces closely organized and disciplined were needed to transform the wilderness. As used on the frontier, the mission was thus an agency of transition. By its very success, it diminished and ultimately extinguished its own usefulness as the frontier society took on permanent organization and the ordinary institutions of Mormon administration began to function.

In the control of individuals for the common good, a final usage of the mission concept appeared; simply stated, it was a means of mobilizing Mormon society or parts of it to carry out desired programs. The church was never hesitant in ordering and directing its members, but within the confines of the established community a certain routineness of activity existed, and many functions fell essentially in the private realm despite the celebrated Mormon communalism. Considerable latitude in the choice of location and profession existed, and people followed their own inclination in many of their daily pursuits. Furthermore, even the harassed circumstances of existence in Utah and the continuing pressure generated by church leaders could not keep members forever poised at the ready, fully geared for action. As an instrument of mobilization, the mission provided a means of rising above this lassitude of the ordinary by conditioning and organizing society to carry out key assignments.

However, we should not lose sight of the fact that many tasks were accomplished without resort to extraordinary methods. This was true in the kingdom's extension as it was in other walks of life. Although church leaders did not always look with equanimity upon the lay enthusiasms that caused private shifting, many areas within the territory and some outside were developed without extensive recourse to mission calls. An example of the latter was the San Bernardino colonization of 1851. It was sometimes called a mission, but it did not prove necessary to employ the mission call to fill the expedition's ranks; on the contrary, once it was initiated, people rushed to join it, sickening Brigham Young as he observed some 450 Utahns chasing after gold.[2] Other attractive places also drew unordered migration. Cache Valley was a case in point; during 1860, the northward movement assumed such proportions as to be styled a rush by contemporary observers.[3]

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[2] Eugene E. Campbell, "A History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in California, 1846-1946" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1952), p. 191

Founding the kingdom inevitably involved tasks that were less attractive and less likely to suggest themselves spontaneously than joining the national rush to California or taking up prime lands in Cache Valley. Frequently, however, less appealing projects were considered essential, and the church resolutely brushed aside lack of popular initiative and in its breach employed the mission to provide an adequate and elastic supply of manpower. Among the undertakings that lay members faced with reluctance were ventures of colonization in the deserts to the south. The mission was of notable utility in a number of such situations including the settlement of northern Arizona.[4] Indeed, in its use as an instrument of expansion, the mission and the call which expedited it became something of a frontier selective service, with local leaders joining the general officers of the church to constitute the conscripting agencies.

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[3] Deseret News, April 18, 1860.

[4] The problem of voluntarism will be considered later in this chapter. For the present, we will note that when it failed, church leaders were quick to turn to the mission, as the following quote from the time of the Dixie Mission indicates: "As the brethren did not choose to volunteer for this mission, the Presidency and Twelve would make the selections and they would expect the brethren to go and stay until they are released." Brigham Young, Journal, MS, pp. 440-41, as quoted in Joel E. Ricks, Forms and Methods of Early Mormon Settlement in Utah and the Surrounding Region, 1844-1877 (Monograph series; Vol. XI, No. 2; Logan: Utah State University Press, 1964), p. 69.

The Mission Call

The entire ecclesiastical process of the Mormon church moved on the initiative of the call; emanating from the First Presidency through the priesthood, it was the basis of administration. Colonizing missions were especially dependent upon the call since not only did they carry on the ordinary church functions under its auspices but the missionaries themselves were designated as such by call. Widely used in earlier colonizing ventures, the call was employed with no hesitation or question during the outward movement of which the Little Colorado's settlement was part.

After deciding to launch a new colony or to strengthen one previously established, the first step was to fix upon the number of missionaries required. In the original Arizona Mission of 1873, it was felt that over three hundred missionaries would be needed in the vanguard group. In 1876 the number was reduced to two hundred. Thereafter, a more or less constant process of calling small groups and individuals as opportunity permitted was supplemented by the call of at least two groups of one hundred families each.

Where large numbers of missionaries were designated under one call, quotas were established and distributed throughout the stakes and wards of the church. In the case of the mission of 1876 which was rushed into the field, the levy fell most heavily upon the populous stakes of central and northern Utah. While the strength of these areas and the easy access church leaders had to their manpower likely accounted for this arrangement, proximity to region of colonization was likewise a consideration in some cases. For instance, the primary call to Castle Valley in eastern Utah fell upon the Sanpete settlements which lay just over the Wasatch Plateau to the west. Iron County's location also figured in the heavy draft made upon it for the San Juan Mission of 1879-80.[5]

However, proximity appears to have been less important in the establishment of quotas than were population and economic matters. Thus, the Virgin Basin settlements which lay contiguous to northern Arizona were given no quotas in the early calls. Voluntary movement from them, which was not inconsiderable, so depleted their population that Erastus Snow informed President John Taylor that more men could not be spared.[6] In 1884 when the last major Little Colorado call was made, every stake in the church except the one in Castle Valley, which had been organized only a short time previously, was given a quota which was commensurate with its membership.[7]

Mission calls were extended by the authority of the church leadership and received full validity by public announcement and popular ratification. Throughout the entire course of the Little Colorado Mission, the General Authorities of the church exercised the power to set the call in motion; but beyond this control of the process at the center, there was considerable variation in how and by whom it was made. Frequently, the call was extended in a personal visit by one of the apostles or by the president of the church himself. This was more true during the days of Brigham Young's intense interest in expansion than later when lines of administration and delegation of responsibility were necessitated by the growth of the church and preoccupation with political problems. Then, too, the role of the General Authorities in the calling process was altered by the constant shifting in the size and the nature of the mission as progress and events required different functions of missionaries. For example, top-level leaders often chose and called the personnel of exploratory expeditions themselves. George W. Brimhall's call to a lonely and harrowing exploration of the lower Colorado River in 1864 was characteristic. Approached personally by George A. Smith who was in charge of the church's southern frontiers at the time, Brimhall thought the venture was dangerous and foolhardy and promptly told Smith so. According to Brimhall's account, Smith, who had no desire to discuss the matter further, said merely that "he had done his errand, and I should go and do mine."[8] In 1875 two years after problems of leadership helped defeat the church's first attempt to open northern Arizona, Brigham Young sought to avoid another failure by giving close personal attention to the choice of leaders for the preliminary expeditions of a renewed effort. James S. Brown, a veteran of many frontier experiences including the march of the Mormon Battalion, was called into Young's office and approached directly by the president, whose response to Brown's immediate and affirmative reply as related by the latter reflects the easy and intimate relation that existed, as well as Young's methods;

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[5] David E. Miller, Hole-in-the-Rock (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1959), pp. 9-10.

[6] See letter of L. J. Nuttall to Sixtus E. Johnson, November 22, 1879, Letter Press Book I, BYU, p. 55.

[7] See form apportioning call of 1884 in letter of Wilford Woodruff to John Taylor, April 10, 1884, Lot Smith Papers, University of Arizona Library, Tucson, Arizona (hereafter cited UA).

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[8] George W. Brimhall, The Workers of Utah (Provo, Utah, 1889), p. 41.

> President Young then said, "Bless your soul, the Spirit does and has dictated to me all the time to send you to take charge of a mission in that country. You are just the man for it, and if I had sent you before we would have had a mission and settlements there now.[9]

As the operation changed from one of exploration to one of settlement, the method of making the call also changed, with more responsibility falling upon local leaders who now nominated most of the prospective missionaries. The General Authorities still formalized the call and on occasion read the lists in conference. They also nominated a few of the mission's leaders personally; but other leaders, as well as the rank and file, appear to have been suggested by local officers who knew intimately the circumstances and abilities of the men involved and proposed them accordingly. As we shall see presently, certain of the selected missionaries proposed followings of their own who were then duly called and ordained for the mission. Later, as the settlements began to grow, the need for extensive colonizing groups yielded to urgent and immediate need for settlers at specific trouble spots. Such requirements were met by sending out groups, usually of about one hundred colonists, who had been selected and nominated by officers especially charged with the duty. In 1879 John VanCott and A. P. Rockwood "were appointed to make a selection of suitable persons . . . to go to the country designated and report their names."[10] In 1884 as the last major draft upon Utah communities sent colonists packing to reinforce a beleaguered Mormon community at St. Johns, a committee headed by Wilford Woodruff handled the problems of coordinating the selection and call of the missionaries.

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[9] Brown, p. 450.

Although it is difficult to determine what qualities or circumstances were looked for in placing specific calls, a few general considerations stand out clearly. Unlike the colonists who founded the Cotton Mission and other settlements in connection with Brigham Young's industrial self-sufficiency drive of the 1860's, Little Colorado colonists were chosen in most cases for reasons other than specialized skills. Furthermore, the mission appears not to have been used to siphon off and employ in publicly generated enterprises the skilled converts from Europe's workshops while they became acclimated to western deserts.

However, it should not be assumed that there were no missionaries called on the basis of specialization. Even in a mission of agricultural villages such as the Little Colorado there was need of certain skills--this need was often met by call. The United Orders especially placed great stress upon home production for home consumption and by their own efforts provided such necessities as woolen goods, lumber, and leather. This involved them in enterprises that required knowledge and experience beyond the ordinary frontier skills. Concerning one such situation, Erastus Snow wrote that "in consideration of the necessities . . . in obtaining sufficient leather to shoe the men women and children . . . we deem it expedient that a Tanner and currier should be called and directed to locate under the direction of the Presidency. . . ." Snow suggested that a tanner be approached and concluded that "if deemed expedient he can make this mission his home."[11] Others were called to man the United Order sawmill that stood near present-day Mormon Lake and still others to work in the "Mechanic shops," but it is not clear that these men were called solely upon the basis of experience along these lines.[12]

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[10] "Diary of L. John Nuttall, 1834-1905," original owned by Mrs. Clara Nuttall Glass, Provo, Utah, typescript at BYU, I, 356. The appointment of Van Cott and Rockwood to make the selection is noted under date of October 22, 1879.

Over the years, numerous calls were made upon non-industrial specialists. This was often the case in the Lamanite missions where a facility in the Spanish language was desired. Calls were likewise predicated upon a peculiar knack for Indian languages, with certain individuals finding satisfaction and prestige in the roles they played because of this ability. Others were designated for the mission or places within it because of qualities of leadership, including stability and sufficient property to hold some of the tiny communities together. Passing reference should also be made to the calling of teachers to the secondary schools or academies that grew up during the last decade of the century. "Professors," as they were locally known, were directed to the Little Colorado communities through and by the recommendation of Karl G. Maeser for missions of two or more years. Calls of this sort were made at least until the turn of the century.[13] Such exceptions notwithstanding, in the majority of cases tenacity, sound faith, and experience in the ways of irrigated agriculture were considered to be the qualifications best fitting a man for a call to the Little Colorado Mission.

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[11] See letter of Erastus Snow to John Taylor from Sunset, Arizona Territory, September 24, 1878, Erastus Snow Letter Box, CHO.

[12] See letter of call to William C. McClellan and others from Brigham Young and John W. Young, May 15, 1877, Erastus Snow Letter Box, 1881 file, CHO.

Wealth does not seem to have been one of the essential requirements; at least almost no one who could be termed affluent was called to northern Arizona. While missionaries were not unaware that the well-to-do were usually permitted to remain in Utah, they took it with measured stride. Writing of the prospects in Arizona in 1880, D. P. Kimball was content that the wealthy remain in Utah:

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[13] The writer's father was the recipient of such a call. A graduate of the Brigham Young Academy at Provo, he had been called to the Southern States Mission in 1898; however, as he awaited the date of departure, a change was suggested and he was called to the Snowflake Academy for two years.

> . . . should any of those who have small means think this climate and country would increase their financial basket, and that they could serve God here as well as in our old and much loved Territory, Utah, we would like them to join us, as we can provide many with homes and government lands are plentiful. I have experienced the building up of Utah, and can say that many of the opportunities offered here are superior to any offered there. Our millionaires we do not expect, as you need them and a good deal more than you get, to fight the adversary and his lawyers, carpet baggers, etc.[14]

Although the missionaries were resigned that the wealthy could play a more important role in Utah, it was felt that ambition and business acumen were needed in key positions to provide a nucleus around which the community could form. Men of "small means," usually rising younger men whose roles in the home communities were important but had not been entirely fixed, seemed especially susceptible to call. One such was William J. Flake, who during the half-dozen years prior to his call had put together substantial holdings at Beaver and Escalante. David K. Udall was another. In 1880, as Wilford Woodruff made his way north from a period of exile on the Little Colorado, he met young Udall, who was one of several promising young men building homes and businesses for themselves in Kanab. Woodruff was impressed and did not rest until the energies and abilities that had attracted him to the younger man were in St. Johns guiding Mormon interests there.[15] Several others who were of what Erastus Snow termed "easy circumstances" were called and served in northern Arizona.

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[14] Deseret News, January 28, 1880. Substitutes were sometimes hired by missionaries. Alma G. Jewkes, an original settler in Utah's Emery County stated in an interview in 1952 that many of those who were well fixed among the Castle Valley missionaries hired substitutes to take their place and remained in Sanpete. See Elmo G. Geary, "A Study of Dramatics in Castle Valley from 1875-1925" (unpublished master's thesis, University of Utah, 1953), pp. 29-30.

Circumstances could arise, however, that jolted some rather substantial Latter-day Saints loose from their financial moorings in the north. Such was the case of Christopher Layton of Kaysville, who in the face of mounting polygamy trouble found it advisable to accept a call in 1883 to go to southern Arizona as president of the St. Joseph Stake. Unlike most of his colleagues, Layton made the move via rail, loading his belongings upon two railroad cars. His financial dealings remained varied and substantial after he moved to Arizona. See Christopher Layton, Life of Christopher Layton, eds. George Z. Cannon and Selina Layton Phillips (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1911), pp. 192-234.

However, most of those to whom the colonizing mission call came may justly be classified as poor. Yet on the Mormon frontier, as upon others, migration and the process of new establishment implied a certain minimum of property, little though it might be. The communal nature of Mormon society often provided goods to carry the new missionary along in the form of donations. In fact, in some cases the First Presidency authorized soliciting for donations to sustain the missionaries. The 1875 call of Daniel W. Jones permitted him and other members of his party, including

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[15] See Osmer D. Flake, William J. Flake, Pioneer-Colonizer (published privately, 1954), pp. 56-59. Also see David King Udall and Pearl Udall Nelson, Arizona Pioneer Mormon, David King Udall, History and His Family, 1851-1938 (Tucson: Arizona Silhouettes, 1959), p. 139. Woodruff's determination to push Udall is most apparent in the following:

> "I wish now to say that we decided in Council last night to send David Udall to preside as Bishop at St. Johns. L. John Nuttall /Stake President at Kanab and also John Taylor's personal secretary/ will notify him. I have tried ever since I came to get him appointed as bishop of that place, but I did not get it accomplished until last night."

See letter of Wilford Woodruff to Ammon M. Tenney, May 27, 1880, Le Sueur Papers, APHS.

Anthony W. Ivins of St. George, to solicit financial aid. Young Ivins wrote rather laconically, but nevertheless revealingly, of his pinched financial circumstances and the contributions received:

> In the meantime I was engaged in making preparations for my mission. My resources were very limited and it was necessary to sell everything I possessed in order to provide an outfit for the journey. Prest. Young had authorized Bro. Jones to solicit subscriptions to aid the expedition and a circular letter was sent to me authorizing me to receive funds that might be subscribed. My friends also contributed to aid me personally.[16]

There follows a list of donations totaling $119.15, and a mule and a horse. This seemed to outfit the missionary adequately and he soon set out for Mexico.

More frequently the missionaries sold their property for whatever they could get, usually taking livestock and equipment; if they had nothing else, they had conveyance to Arizona. One pioneer whose entire earthly possessions were limited to the livestock, wagon, and goods that took him south wrote: "I sold my place . . . for two span of horses, harness, a wagon, and ten cows . . . it however gave me something that I could work with such as a team and wagon."[17]

Possibly the most impoverished of those called to the Arizona mission had as little in the way of frontier experience as they did temporal belongings. These were two parties of immigrants from Arkansas and elsewhere in the south who arrived on the Little Colorado River in 1877-78.

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[16] "Anthony Woodward Ivins Journal," pp. 22-23.

[17] "Autobiography of Joseph Fish," p. 154.

Their call differed from most of their fellow missionaries in that it was part of the initial gathering process; like other phases of the movement it was directed and planned, and the counsel that the southerners followed in moving to Arizona had much in common with the mission calls issued to the Utah immigrants.[18]

The Call of Relocation

As we have seen, surplus populations in Utah were subject to call. Leisure openly indulged suggested the expendability of the parties involved and at times led to designation as missionaries. That this was the reaction of two important leaders to one abuse of the Mormon commitment to industrious employment is apparent in the following extract from a letter of Heber C. Kimball:

> There has been Courts in session here for weeks and weeks, and I suppose that one hundred and fifty or two hundred of the brethren have been hanging around, with the Council House filled to the brim. This scenery continuing for a long time, one day brother Brigham sent Thomas Bullock to take their names, for the purpose of giving them missions, if they had anything to do of any more importance. . . . These are all good men but they need to learn a lesson.[19]

Soon calls had been made and the courtroom loiters presumably found themselves where the demands upon their time were greater. In this aspect, the mission call appeared as a device of much utility through which the community rid itself of useless or bothersome elements and accomplished desired ends at the same stroke.

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[18] In regard to the southern colonists, see letters from Brigham Young to John Morgan at Dirt town, Georgia, June 28, 1877 and from N. P. Beebe to Brigham Young, June 30, 1877, Brigham Young Letter Box for 1877, CHO. Also see McClintock, pp. 151-52.

[19] Millennial Star, XVII, 477

Evans Coleman, who accompanied his missionary parents into Arizona in the 1880's and spent the rest of his life in the Mormon community there, wrote in something of this same vein when he half facetiously suggested some of the applications of the mission in a polygamous society:

> In the Church "inspiration" is stressed. Missionaries "called by inspiration." Bishops and other officials appointed or "called by inspiration." But in those early days when polygamy was in full swing there was many a young man who was "called" into the mission field for the usual two year period, and if the case warranted, three years. For if that young man were keeping company with some young lady on whome some married man had designs, but who was for one reason or another, "just waiting" and he had sufficient "standing" in the ward, the Bishop would right now be "inspired" to sent that young man's name up to headquarters, and Johnny would mighty soon be packing his war bag and starting out to "spread the gospel among the nations."[20]

This situation would be difficult to document indeed, but the general utility of the mission call as Coleman presents it in getting people where they were needed, or not needed, is real enough.

We have already considered the nature of the call in moving surplus populations from heavily settled districts, but its usefulness did not stop there. In a number of interesting cases it was applied to individuals; the chief qualification for the call in these cases was a superfluity that for some reason embarassed the church and made removal expedient. We shall give brief attention to several of these cases for the light they cast on the role of the mission in this peculiar form of social mobilization.

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[20] See "Teachers," Coleman Papers, APHS.

Perhaps the most widely known of these was the 1871 call to John D. Lee of Mountain Meadow Massacre fame to establish a ferry at the Colorado River crossing which had been discovered by Jacob Hamblin some years before. It was a spot ideally remote yet of utmost importance to the southern expansion of the Mormon people. Lee was called to this lonely wilderness and placed in a situation where his experience as an Indian missionary and as a frontiersman could be utilized for the common good, yet he was effectively taken from circulation and sent where his presence at Beaver or other federal outposts could not attract attention.[21]

Not as well known but equally illuminating was a call sending Peter Nielson and John Bloomfield from Sunset on the Little Colorado to Savoia, New Mexico. They were among the earliest settlers at Sunset, having been called there to live in the United Order in 1876 with which they were associated until the time of their new assignment. Lot Smith, president of the Little Colorado Stake, was the central figure in the Sunset order. His administration was often questioned, but he overrode objections with a gruff and unyielding authoritarianism. Many of his subordinates became disaffected and withdrew, but a more resilient element stayed on determined to make the best of the situation. Among the latter were Nielson and Bloomfield of whom Smith rid himself by calling them on an Indian mission to Savoia.[22] Once in New Mexico, they rendered further valuable service and no longer contributed to friction at Sunset.

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[21] For Lee's Ferry period (December 1871-June 1873), see Cleland and Brooks, II, 174-246.

A final example of the use of the mission call as a means of easing social and administratave tension arose out of a conflict between three southern Utah men--William H. Dame and the Smith brothers, Jesse N. and Silas S. All were prominent in Iron County ecclesiastical and civic affairs. Dame, bishop of the Parowan Ward, had played a key role in the militia, and the John D. Lee trial. Jesse N. Smith had twice been mission president in Denmark as well as an important figure in community life at Parowan. Silas S. Smith was bishop of Parigona, a high official in the militia, and a member of the territorial legislature. Contemporary accounts shed almost no light on the origins of the controversy, but it obviously divided the community into opposing factions in 1877 when Brigham Young paused on his last trip north to reorganize the stake presidency. The events of that occasion are best told by Joseph Fish, who attended the meeting of reorganization. His account follows:

> On April 18, President Young and party arrived from the south, and held meeting at 5 p.m. The President stated that the object of the meeting was to reorganize the stake, fill up vacancies, etc. He asked the people who they would have for their president. Bro. Paul Smith said William H. Dame. The President then said he is your bishop, (he was bishop's agent and was acting as bishop). The President then nominated Jesse N. Smith, William C. McGregor, ob-

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[22] See letter of Erastus Snow to John Taylor written from La Ascension, Mexico, July 12, 1886, CHO.

> jected. He was asked his objections, he said, "Have had some of Jesse's rule while Bro. Dame was in prison and it was tyrinnical." Pres. Wells then put the vote which was about equally divided for and against Jesse N. Smith. . . . The division among the people on electing a president was a great drawback to the place and was the root and foundation of many bitter and lasting feelings among many of the saints. . . .[23]

At length, an organization was effected, complete, significantly, except for the office of president for which a man designated by Brigham was to be sent in from outside. Dame and Smith were to act as counselors. In the months that followed, Dame evidently won out in the struggle and became stake president.

The Smith brothers now cast about for opportunities elsewhere and began to move to a new area farther east on the Sevier River north of Panguitch, but before 1878 had passed both were picked by important church calls and directed to new frontiers--Jesse to the Little Colorado and Silas to San Juan and ultimately the San Luis Valley of Colorado where each of them played important roles. One presumes that rid of these adversaries, affairs also ran more smoothly for William H. Dame at Parowan.

Erastus Snow's early selection of Jesse N. Smith to accompany him on a tour of the Arizona mission and the latter's call, while on the journey, to preside over a new Arizona stake are so suggestive that one can hardly forbear the conclusion that his availability and the call that grew out of it were in large part the result of the conflict. If, however, doubt hovers about the immediacy of the Dame controversy as a factor in his call, Erastus Snow wrote plainly enough about Silas' case:

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[23] "Autobiography of Joseph Fish," p. 145.

> Bishop S. S. Smith of Parrigona (long a member of the Legislative Council,) who is under the Ban of Prest Dame and has tendered his resignation as Bishop . . . would make a discreet presiding officer to lead settlements on the San Juan or Salt River, He will prefer the former. . . .[24]

Polygamy troubles also resulted in calls of relocation similar in some respects to those discussed above. The period of settlement on the Little Colorado River was one of mounting pressure for Utah polygamists and many of them found sanctuary for periods of varying lengths in Arizona or Mexico. As a rule, mission calls seem not to have been based upon this need, but on occasion they were used to relocate men who were wanted by the federal authorities in Utah. Safely across territorial boundaries and often with only one of their wives or even by themselves, they functioned effectively.

The use of the call thus extended to the adjustment of various personnel problems. Men who were unwanted or who found a change of residence expedient were among those called and were by this means relocated where they could function effectively. The mission call also curtailed the useless luxury of internal conflict and found satisfying outlets for expansive spirits who might otherwise have wasted their energies.

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[24] Letter to President John Taylor from Parowan, Utah, December 29, 1878, Erastus Snow Letter Box, CHO.

The Call by Association

The call was also issued because of family or other intimate relations. This practice grew quite naturally out of associations and reflected private interests as well as the need of the party issuing the call to receive a positive response. On rare occasions, the sons or young acquaintances of the General Authorities were called to the Little Colorado Mission for short periods. Among the handful of unmarried short-term missionaries who served there appear Erastus B. Snow, the son of the apostle, and Anthony W. Ivins who together filled a wide ranging Indian mission during 1878. Apostle Snow drew heavily upon their experience and used it in extending his own contact with the far-flung frontiers of the new mission.[25]

More ordinary was the migration of young men whose fathers had been called to Arizona and had severed their economic connections in Utah, thus leaving their sons with greatly diminished economic opportunity in the place of earlier residence. Sometimes these boys were themselves officially called; more often they moved because their fathers were moving but seem nevertheless to have regarded themselves as among the called.

Women, of course, were as important to the development of a mission of expansion as were men, but in the priesthood-oriented Mormon system they, even more than their sons, were dependent upon their husbands and received their calls through them. The need for family men frequently resulted in last minute proposals of marrige as young missionaries faced southward. In 1867 Brigham Young had written Franklin D. Richards that a large group of young men from northern Utah were not only to fill missions to the south but were to " marry and take wives with them."[26] In such cases as the record of the movement to Arizona bears in reference to this question, the young man's ordinary difficulties in persuading the young lady and her parents to accept him were further complicated by the by the frontier mission that lay in the offing.[27]

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[25] Letter from Erastus Snow to John Taylor and the Council, June 11, 1878, Erastus Snow Letter Box, CHO.

A most interesting example of the proposal as call appears in John Pulsipher's diary. Pulsipher, a missionary to southern Utah, had lost his wife and, after an autumn visit to Salt Lake City in 1871 during which he had met an appealing young widow, wrote:

> I think much of the short, but happy acquaintance we have formed, and if you would not think me rude or in haste I would like to hear from you soon, As we live in the days of short prayers, short sermons, and short courtships, I would like you to write me a plain, mountain English letter and tell me truly, it you think it would be

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[26] Letter of October 18, 1867, Millennial Star, XXIX, 763.

[27] One young Arizona missionary wrote of his courtship and the effect his call had upon it:

> "During this season I was contemplating and preparing for two very important events: getting married, and moving to Arizona.
>
> "In the former I had thus far met no obstacle, and the stream of a pleasant courtship would probably have never been disturbed by a single ripple if it had not been for the latter. But the thoughts of going away off into wild and lonesome Arizona, was so repulsive to sweetheart and her parents that the charms of an otherwise attractive suitor were almost neutralized."

See "Diary of Joseph West Smith, I, 26.

> best and proper for us to joined in marriage? Do you think enough of me, almost a stranger as I am, to choose me before all other men that Live?

After this abrupt "plain mountain English" proposition, Pulsipher continued, now couching his proposal in the characteristic vernacular of the mission call:

> If you was satisfied to say yes how long a time would you want to close up your business and be ready for a mission to the South?

And then, almost as an afterthought, he made a statement of principle to clinch the call:

> I believe in free trade and women's rights, without being coaxed, flattered or hired.[28]

The lady in question shortly settled up her affairs and moved to take up her "mission to the South."

Connections other than those of the familial bond also resulted in voluntary joining of the Arizona Mission. The group that followed Jesse N. Smith from Iron County late in 1878 is instructive in this connection. They had been joined for several years in a close-knit cooperative order which hard times and the Dame controversy nearly upset. After abortive efforts to right its tilted affairs, the association concluded to go south with Smith. He regarded its members as volunteers and submitted their names as such to President Taylor who gladly issued missionary recommends to them along with Smith's. Numbering about ten families, this party left for Arizona as a unit and remained closely associated in business and church affairs during the entire period of colonization.[29]

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[28] See letter of October 24, 1871 included in the "Diary of John Pulsipher," I, 176. Typescript at the Bancroft Library and microfilm of this copy at the University of Utah Library, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter cited UU).

Promotion and the Mission

As useful as the mission call was in the move to the Little Colorado River, it was not directly responsible for the removal of all those who went south. We have already observed a certain amount of voluntarism in the migration of families and intimates of missionaries. Such voluntary response was a solicited, and to some extent controlled, factor in the extension of the Mormon frontier and represented a substantial part of the total movement. It was encouraged by the church; indeed, the mission was itself a catalytic agent and it was used along with other promotion to stimulate the southward flow. Not only was the sense of motion which the mission engendered exploited to create voluntary action, but prospects in the new country were kept before the eyes of Utahns by means of the pulpit and the press. In certain quarters, hard times and a hankering to be on the move also provided a fertile soil in which seeds of migration sowed by the mission and other promotion fell and germinated.

Along with its communalism, the church always stressed good works performed on individual volition; this theme was not ignored in the recruiting of colonists for the south. It should be noted that the response the church hoped to elicit is more rightly termed voluntarism than individualism as the ends remained communal and the means of accomplishing the ends were regulated for the good of the whole. The voluntary or secondary respondent whose decision to migrate rose out of an idealistic sense of service and an enlightened self-interest, even though these were born of persuasion, was more nearly achieving the ideal of Mormon social and theological relations than he who was called. Writing in 1876 in an open letter to the bishops, Brigham Young stated the feeling of the church on this point:

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[29] See Journal of Jesse N. Smith, pp. 230-31. Also see "Autobiography of Joseph Fish," November 1878.

> We are informed that some of the brethren entertain the idea that it is better to be called by the authorities to such missions than to volunteer. To such we will quote the saying of the Lord to the Prophet Joseph Smith, as contained in the Doctrine and Covenants: "He that waiteth to be commanded in all things is a slothful servant."[30]

The letter from which this extract is drawn suggested one form of promotion--namely the activity of private recruiters who were called to function both as missionaries and as agents to raise additional men for the expansion. James S. Brown, to whom the above referred, was authorized to raise recruits to accompany him on his exploratory expedition. His promotional activities, however, were not limited to recruiting the handful of men that comprised his first company. On his return from Arizona in the winter of 1875-76, he answered question for "scores of visitors" who sought him out to inquire of his travels. His southward career on the return trip resembled a barnstorming tour as he stumped for Arizona, preached the mission, and raised funds to cover its expenditures. Later, he was directed to "travel through Utah and lecture on the prospects of the work in the southern mission and also call for volunteers to accompany /him/ in returning to Arizona." Consequently, he toured northern Utah in the fall of 1876, covering all of the counties as far south as Richfield, lecturing sixty-five times, and securing "about eighty volunteers, most from Sevier County."[31] This was not a widely employed practice, although Brown's was not the only instance of its use.

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[30] See Brigham Young Letter Book #13, CHO, pp. 502-503. Also see Brown, p. 466.

Brown's efforts and other promotional activities during 1876 and the years immediately before and for several years after were attended by a flurry of Arizona items in the Deseret News. The Arizona Miner, published in Prescott, was quoted frequently in reference to opportunity in

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[31] Ibid., pp. 464-67. The text of Brown's commission to recruit is as follows:

> "Brother Brown is also authorized to receive the names of those who are willing or desirous of helping to build up the Kingdom of God in that region. . . . We desire the active co-operation of our brethren in this important work; and shall be pleased to receive a goodly list of volunteers through Brother Brown, consisting of men who love the Gospel, have faith in the promise of the Father, and have the integrity, determination and zeal of true Latter-day Saints. We have no fear that too many will respond to this invitation, as the rich valleys south and east of the Colorado offer homes for hundreds of those who desire to extend the curtains of Zion in that direction."

See letter of Brigham Young, September 16, 1876 directed to "The Bishops and all it may concern," Brigham Young Letter Book #13, CHO, pp. 502-503.

Arizona and the friendly atmosphere that the region promised Utahns.[32] There is an ebb and flow in Arizona propaganda that closely parallels calls and movements of missionaries and General Authorities to Arizona. A good deal of information appeared at the time of the call itself, and then, as the missionaries got on the road, their progress was traced in a flurry of emigrant letters and local news items from wayside towns. Thus, the winter and early spring during which the heaviest migration ran was a time of considerable Arizona news. Later, letters of reaction to the mission appeared from new and enthusiastic missionaries who sought to promote the country in their own right. Those who were negatively impressed undoubtedly had their hearing as well, but it was not in the pages of the Deseret News. As the Autumn wore on, the low point in volume was reached and Arizona seemed forgotten for the moment, only to be revived and made a promised land again as the next call was launched in the winter and early spring. In some cases a lapse of a year or two intervened. As the period of founding drew to a close and the Little Colorado began to take its place among the established communities of the church, the promotional type reporting passed, and the news releases became much more infrequent and routine. The reality of distance and territorial boundaries now worked their countering influence; where northern Arizona had occupied a prominent spot in the News during the late 1870's and early 1880's, it was relegated to infrequent references by 1896.[33]

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[32] As an example, see Deseret News, June 25, 1873.

The lure of movement and the adventure of the unknown fortified the appeal for voluntary action made in the public media. Villages and towns that lay along the routes were particularly susceptible to the contagion of people in motion, and the recurrent American theme of a moving frontier generating its own energy played an important part in Mormon expansion as well. The effect of the outbound settler's enthusiasm was given credence by the return to the wayside towns of old-time residents, some of whom had tremendous prestige locally. As they visited, they plied the home folks with stories calculated to sell them on Arizona and draw thither additional population. Allen Frost of Kanab was much interested by such reports and on August 11, 1878 wrote: "Jacob Hamblin spoke of his travels in Arizona and New Mexico, created quite a furore among those who are unsettled in their minds as regards Kanab."[34]

Kanab and other towns were also on the path of the General Authorities as they moved back and forth, and there is no doubt that they too indulged in talk that was essentially promotional.

Continuing poverty and recurrent drought in southern Utah made for voluntary response to the mission call and its accompanying promotion. This was especially so of the dry years of 1878-79 when people throughout southern Utah suffered for want of flour, and cattle starved on the ranges. These conditions resulted in the movement of substantial herds of cattle to Arizona which, though not yet raising much food, had not been affected as badly by the drought. Inevitably men followed. In November of 1879, Frost wrote of Kanab that "out of 116 lots, now occupied in this place. 32 are offered for sale. the arizona fever prevails." Frost, ever attentive to Arizona and upon whom the spirit of unrest was never lost, finally succumbed to the urge himself and made preparations to move after an interview with Erastus Snow which he initiated himself in September of 1883.[35] Thus, the forces of nature joined league with promotional activities and the contagion of adventure to supplement and build upon the mission call. This was a voluntary response that took as its own much of the obligation of the mission and submitted to much of its discipline.

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[33] See index for Arizona references in the Deseret News in unclassified papers of Andrew Jenson on the Arizona Mission, CHO.

[34] "Diary of Allen Frost, 1838-1901," original in hands of Augusta Flake, typescript in BYU, p. 194.

An interesting variation of the voluntary response was the delayed answer to an earlier call that arose out of promotion and new missionary movement. Such a case was that of Levi M. Savage, one of the original missionaries of the unsuccessful mission of 1873. When that mission was abandoned, Savage assumed that its failure released him from his obligation to go to Arizona but only temporarily, as he expected "if the

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[35] *Ibid.*, November 19, 1879, pp. 237, 374.

Arizona mission should be again undertaken" to accompany it. His frame of mind had not changed in October of 1876 when he wrote:

> I . . . started on my mission to Arizona, whence I was called three years since, I should have gone ere this, had not our people all left their settlements in that Territory. But another call was made last winter and some of our folks are now settled on the Little Colorado. I think I must go and join them there in order to fill my mission.[36]

A similar incident was that of Daniel W. Jones whose original call had been to explore a route to Mexico. Later, he went south to settle at an undetermined site but with the understanding that the preferred and ultimate destination was to be in Mexico. As it turned out, Jones and his followers located in the Salt River Valley of southern Arizona. His irrascible personality soon alienated his associates, and for years he worked with the Indians of the area before he was charged with exploiting them and officially reprimanded. He then withdrew from the Mormon settlements and located in an isolated spot in the Tonto Basin. This self-imposed exile was terminated only when a new impetus was given his mission to Mexico by the resurgence of church interest in those parts. Thus, the launching of a new mission sometimes had the effect of bringing out among the voluntary recruits a number of old missionaries. These, whether for reasons of maturing faith, speculative purposes, or unfavorable conditions in their former homes, shook the dust from their calls and joined the army of the righteous in its southward course.[37]

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[36] "Journal of Levi Mathers Savage," ed. Ruth S. Hilton, original in CHO, pp. 9, 22.

Response to Call

Promotion, of course, was not limited to such narrow objectives as the stimulation of voluntary movement to northern Arizona. The mission system, indeed the entire ecclesiastical organization of the church, rested in the final analysis upon voluntary action. The cultivation of a favorable climate of opinion was consequently essential to the church's success. In the case of the Little Colorado Mission, the natural reluctance of church members to embrace the sacrifice which often attended colonizing accentuated the necessity of creating an affirmative frame of mind. Appeals to faith and sense of mission, threats--veiled and open--promises of bright prospects, and adroit management of timing and public opinion were all parts of the arsenal brought to bear by the authorities in mustering out the mission.

The call was often made in such a way as to render a negative reply difficult or impossible. We have already seen Brigham Young soft talking James S. Brown, assuring him that he would preside in the mission that was to be established in the south. Brown rose to the bait and performed superbly for the church president. His assignment was attacked immediately and with enthusiastic effectiveness. His eye upon the opportunity for gratifying leadership, Brown found the region held great potential for Mormon settlement. Neither its barrenness nor the difficulties of his own partial disablement (he had lost one leg) dampened his enthusiasm.

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[37] Jones, pp. 337-360.

Where Brown was concerned, the call had been tailored to the man. In choice of leaders this was frequently possible. To flattery and promises, other means of recruiting were added, including appeal to duty and grand tours of the Arizona Mission. Underlying these was the important if implicit opportunity of shared effort with the General Authorities in the direction of the mission. As we shall observe, this close cooperation with the officers from Salt Lake was a factor of real import, and the prospect of association with this fraternity was one that made a call to lead very appealing.

To the rank and file of the mission, the call was also made in such a fashion as to increase the likelihood of compliance, although numbers obviously rendered impractical the individual attention given to calling leaders. Ordinarily the call was made publicly, usually in a general or stake conference of the church. Lists of colonizing missionaries were read along with the calls to proselyting missions, and as much importance was attached to assent in one case as the other.[38] Promises of success

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[38] At an earlier date the essential oneness of objectives and practice in temporal and spiritual missions had been stressed when the First Presidency refused to honor a petition requesting release from the Iron Mission:

> "If you were now on a mission fo France or England or any other part of the earth, you would not sit down and counsel together about going to get your families, or about going home till your mission was

often attended the public announcement or were made privately or to the collected missionaries. This was particularly true of dangerous missions. In 1866, for example, when the southern Utah militia was called out to serve under James Andrus in the Navajo disorders, a promise of safety was given to all those who were called. One militiaman recounts the promise and finds an easy out for the disaster that befell one of his fellows in the following:

> When Erastus Snow spoke to the party as they were about to leave, he promised that every one that had been called on this expedition should return. Everett /Elijah Everett who was killed by the Indians on August 26, 1866/ was not called but was hired to go in the place of another man.[39]

> ended. This is of quite as much importance as preaching the Gospel. The time is now come when it is required of us to build up stakes of Zion and fill these mountains with cities, and when your mission is ended you are at liberty to go."

See Matthias F. Cowley,(ed.), Wilford Woodruff, History of His Life and Labors as Recorded in His Daily Journals (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1909), p. 346.

[39] "Autobiography of Joseph Fish," p. 79, entry of August 27, 1866. Also see Flake, pp. 51-52. In telling of a mission of exploration made by his father in 1873, Osmer D. Flake wrote of such a promise:

> "President Young promised them that they would have dry camp grounds and good feed for their horses every night. He said there was lots of game, and if they did not waste any, they would have fresh meat all the way. The promise was fulfilled; they would ride in snow all day and then find an open space on which there was fine grass and dry ground for camping."

Flake then related that after riding through deep snows all one day one of the men said:

> "It looks like Brigham's promise would fail this time; there is no bare ground of feed here.' The leader said, 'No promise of brother Brigham fails.' Soon they came upon a small hill and in front of them lay ten or fifteen acres of fine dry ground covered with grass."

High hopes were also held out to the missionaries in terms of their temporal prospects, and glorious and at times spread-eagle promises of the kingdom's future were made. Such was the promise given Anthony W. Ivins by Apostle Moses Thatcher as Ivins departed for Mexico on a mission: "Thou shalt live to see a perfect chain of communications from the mountains, from the Church and Kingdom of God and the people of Zion, down through the Republic of Mexico, through Central America, and through South America. . . ."[40]

Threats and plain talk were also employed to assure positive response to the call. Interestingly, threats did not often appear in any kind of hell's fire sermonizing about the next life but characteristically focused upon temporal failure which was often attributed to disobedience to church counsel. By implication and assurance, the solution was simple if not easy--obedience to God's earthly servants. Characteristic of the tremendous importance that was attached to obedience to counsel was the following written by Wilford Woodruff when he heard that one Little Colorado settler had suffered heavy losses: "I was sorry to hear that Brother Johnson had made such a poor out of his settling. I told him to go to St. Johns. Men who take counsel will be blessed. Those who do not will suffer."[41]

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[40] "Anthony Woodward Ivins Journal,"p. 189.

[41] See letter to Ammon M. Tenney, Le Sueur Papers, APHS. Also see "Diary of Allen Frost," p. 374.

As one would expect, reaction to the actual call varied greatly, even among those who accepted it. Informed that a call was pending, some sensed that they might be involved and looked forward to the official announcement with high anticipation. Young Christian Lingo Christensen of Sanpete county wrote in 1876:

> It was announced by bishop Lars Anderson that Some were going to BE called to go to Arizona the number was five. the intent of the mission was to Establish the united order and form an aquaintance with the Indians and do them good a quite lengthy and interesting discourse was delivered an(d) then the Call Who will go Who will be called to leave fathers mother and all for the gospel sake all had their ideas about who would be called I was shure I was one allthough I had not herd a word til this time. Finally the Names all listened with all attention to the following names Petter Isacson Burge Hanson O. C. Overson Oley Larsen C. L. Christensen all were surprised at this selection.[42]

Others found the call to a new country appealing for various reasons, including the hope that climatic differences would make life more enjoyable. However, the majority of those who took the trouble to record their feelings about the call were surprised, shocked, or thrown into despair, complying only after considerable self-examination and prayer, or not at all. Frequently, vivid descriptions of more attractive alternatives were recorded. Reaction in some simmered and after days of musing burst forth; others, like the articulate and self-assertive George W. Brimhall, replied at once and, if we may depend upon their own accounts, in colorful words. Brimhall, who had been called to explore the bottoms of the Colorado River at the time of the 1864 navigation boom, exploded to George A. Smith: "I would rather go to Trafalgar's Bay, on the Mediterranean sea, among the Mohammedan Moors, and stay seven years than undertake the head waters of that river." But he continued:

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[42] "Diary of Christian Lingo Christensen," typescript at BYU, p. 14.

> I had never refused a mission from the committee /the committee of safety as he called the General Authorities/ as yet, and did not wish to this time, although I did not like it. Consulting with my wife she consented . . . but felt conscious that my past conduct had secured for me the aid of my Heavenly Father. Again, I sought Him for information, and was told that I might go, but it would be the destruction of about all of my hard earned property . . . I came away dissatisfied. Again, and again I appealed to the Lord, until I became quite well acquainted with Him and told Him I could not decide myself whether to go or not, and if he would be so kind as to create in me a desire to go, I would thank Him all the time. He did, and I began to make ready. . . .[43]

However, Brimhall had not been entirely vanquished by conscience and God and continued to writhe under his new call. His inner torment deepened as he undertook his exploration about which he submitted a negative report that reflected his frame of mind as certainly as it did the deserts of the Colorado.

Others were staggered by the call but were not gripped by the fierce internal struggle that kept Brimhall in turmoil. One such case arose out of April Conference of 1877 which was held at St. George. This was a celebrated moment--the first of Mormondom's western temples was to be dedicated and the Saints gathered from far and wide for the event. Into the enthusiasm of the dedication, Brigham Young dropped what for some was a bombshell, calling many to the Arizona Mission. This call was given a note of finality when the prospective colonists were directed to "sell all that you have . . . leave nothing to come back to." William Flake was among the chosen and plodded with a "sad heart and mental suffering" back to his comfortable home in Beaver. Although he wept and declared "he had rather go to England," Flake sadly submitted for he "knew that President Young was a Prophet and when the Lord speaks man must obey."[44] Impelled by God's will, he turned south finding in his experience there full vindication of Providence's wisdom and goodness.

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[43] Brimhall, p. 41.

Many prospective missionaries either refused the call outright or found the obstacles to their departure to be so great that they never got under way. Some of these obstacles were real and postponement was permitted or changes made in the call. Others procrastinated from lack of commitment, making "but slow headway,"[45] as Wilford Woodruff noted, when they were opposed to going. Although no specific data exists, some rough estimates as to the percentage of those responding to the call may be advanced. In 1873 some 250 missionaries were called. About a hundred or 40 percent of these made the trek to Arizona, but others would doubtless have followed had the mission been successful. In 1876 a far larger percentage, possibly as high as 80 or 85 percent, answered the call. During subsequent years, the number who acted favorably on the call slumped, though a majority of them are still said to have reached the mission.[46]

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[44] Flake, pp. 54-55. Also see "Autobiography and Diary of Lucy Hannah White Flake," pp. 16-17.

[45] See letter of Wilford Woodruff to A. M. Tenney from Salt Lake City, May 25, 1880, Le Sueur Papers, APHS.

In the face of such half-hearted support, recurrent calls were necessary. In spite of the promotional efforts and play upon duty that accompanied mission calls, the roles of the Little Colorado Mission were filled only by dint of real effort. It was a process in which manpower was raised by close attention and pressure rather than one in which surpluses afforded ready and anxious recruits.

Duration of the Mission

Surplus populations doubtless existed, but the will to colonize in northern Arizona was another question. Not only did its absence result in failure to answer the call, but it also led to early departure from the mission. After arriving in Arizona and surveying the situation, one pioneer of 1876 saw the problem as one of commitment to the cause;

> Large towns inhabited by Latter-day Saints will ere long be built upon this soil . . . I intend to stay and do all that I can to build up this place. All that is wanted here is some good, faithful Saints, that are willing to wait and work in union and put their trust in God. . . . I would not advise anyone to come to this part of the world that had not the Spirit and a knowledge of this mission. They are of no use, for they will not stay.[47]

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[46] Fish, p. 59.

[47] See letter from George Dabling to the Deseret News written August 20, 1876 and appearing September 20, 1876. Also see Septem-

Many did not have the "knowledge of the mission," and did not stay. The pattern was set by the ill-starred expedition of 1873 whose missionaries faced down inner qualms and a good deal of criticism to return to Utah. Later, as the successful colonization began, the rate of departure remained high. When the initiates of 1876 learned what the future on the Little Colorado held in store, a mass exodus took place. Many went home by official leave; some of these returned to Arizona--many did not. Others merely packed up and with no apology withdrew. Early in the course of settlement, Lot Smith, who stayed on in the area until his death in 1892, recognized that transience was a major characteristic of the mission when he wrote that it had had a "strange history, so far most who came having got weak in the back or knees and gone home."[48] According to one report, the homeward flight was so heavy that after five years "scarcely one-tenth of those who had been called by the presidency of the Church to locate settlements in Arizona could be found at their posts of duty."[49] In the eyes of those that remained, the dissatisfied returned to Utah to circulate "evil and untruthful reports about the country" and as detractors of the mission, richly deserved the censure and scorn of the

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ber 27, 1876 where James T. Woods, another missionary who wrote on August 31, 1876, recommends: ". . . that the best that can be found be selected for this mission. There is plenty of land and room for good Latter-day Saints to dwell, and it requires such to build up this country."

[48] Ibid., March 27, 1878.

[49] "History of the Little Colorado Stake."

"faithful."[50] As reluctant as it was to broadcast adverse propaganda, the church deemed it better to let the disaffected go than to keep them in Arizona. After an official visit in the summer of 1876 during which he observed this restiveness firsthand, Daniel H. wells of the First Presidency joined Brigham Young to write:

> We are reliably informed that there are a few in some of the camps whose mouths are full of murmuring, and some whose hearts incline to apostasy. We want none such to remain with you, lest they poison the camp with the leaven of their hard feeling. . . . The selfishness and individuality that have characterized the labors of some of our brethren should not find a place with those called to this mission.[51]

Even faithful missionaries found it hard to resist the temptation to return to Utah, and often the major difference between them and the "quitters" whom they so roundly criticized was merely a matter of time. Thus a counter-migration began early and continued to take its toll.

Some took what was in many ways an easier alternative by moving on into southern Arizona which was also being colonized and was sometimes refered to along with the Little Colorado as the Arizona Mission. The lines of the mission were not clearly defined, and there was frequently considerable lattitude permitted to missionaries and local authorities in locating colonists. Consequently, Little Colorado missionaries avoided the stigma of an early return to Utah by moving deeper into Arizona where by any but the most restrictive of interpretations they were fulfilling their missions. Despite frequent counsel not to move about or scatter, no sustained effort was made to avert this practice. In fact, on one occasion a large party of ex-Little Colorado settlers were organized by Jesse N. Smith to cross over the White Mountains and settle on the Gila River. Once there, the colonists expressed their gratitude by naming their new town Smithville after the stake president.[52]

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[50] George Dabling, from whom this quote is taken, made his way to the Little Colorado during the summer of 1870. His attitude toward quitters is characteristic of those who remained behind:

> "We saw a number of families returning, who told us some hard stories about this country, but nothing daunted we drove along and kept on until we reached the place of our destination. . . . I am well satisfied that this is a good country and those who have left and are gone back will be ashamed of themselves and wish themselves back."

Deseret News, September 20, 1876.

[51] Letter to "Elders Smith, Lake, Ballinger, Allen and the Brethren camped on the Little Colorado," July 18, 1876, Brigham Young Letter Book, CHO.

Another matter not clearly defined was the question of the mission's duration. Most missionaries came as long-term colonists intending to make the Little Colorado their future homes. Subsequent events and desires, however, were probably more important than were the original calls in determining the extent of the mission which was, consequently, characterized by great variation. As we have noted, many calls were terminated by early departure; others lasted for years--some for the working lifetime of the men involved. An example of the latter was Lorenzo H. Hatch who served in the Eastern Arizona Stake Presidency until 1900.

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[52] See letter from William R. Teeples to Deseret News, May 28, 1879.

His release at that time terminated the mission he had answered in 1876 and called him back to Cache Valley where part of his large polygamous family had resided throughout the entire period.[53]

One mission terminated as late as 1919 and then only by directive of the presidency of the church. Their letter stating the circumstances of the case and suggesting release follows:

> Prest. Samuel F. Smith and Counselors, Snow Flake Stake:
> We have just received a letter . . . from Parley Savage son of Levi M. Savage of Woodruff, Arizona, stating in effect that his father, who is now nearly seventy years old, is obliged to work for his living, that he is doing days work on the Woodruff Dam, walking six miles to and from the place of his work; that he has been eager for years to leave Woodruff, and has known to remark to his son about five years ago that he thought that after living forty years on the Little Colorado, shoveling sand a great part of that time into it only to see it washed away, was sufficient to bring him a release, but he is willing to stay provided we think it best for him to do so.
> Unless there are reasons unknown to us going to show why Bishop Savage should not have been released from the call said to have been made upon him to settle in Woodruff, Arizona, we would like you to inform him, that he may consider himself perfectly free to make his home elsewhere, and that if he decides to move away we desire him to know that he will go with our very best wishes and blessing.[54]

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[53] "Lorenzo Hill Hatch Journal," ed. Ruth S. Hilton, original in CHO, p. 252.

[54] See "Journal of Levi Mathers Savage," pp. 86-88. Thales Haskell, the old Indian missionary and explorer, is another example of the tenacity with which some men stood by their mission as is indicated in the following:

> "At a conference in Bluff in 1886 at which Erastus Snow was a visitor, he asked Thales where his family was. Thales told him that they had all moved to Manasa, Colorado. Apostle Snow then asked why he was not with them to which Thales answered that until the same authority which had called him into the mission released him, he did not feel at liberty to leave the field. Brother Snow then said

Within a year or so, Savage took his leave, returning to Salt Lake City.

This discussion of the duration of individual calls raises the question of the extent and duration of the Northern Arizona Mission as an institution of Mormon expansion. It should be borne in mind that in this sense the mission was a pioneering agency and that its success lessened and ultimately extinguished its need. The wilderness of the frontier onto which it moved and the area's lack of other social organization rendered its beginnings distinct. With the passing of time, the ordinary paraphernalia of the church supplanted the mission and the use of the term mission to designate a place and a process passed, shading off imperceptibly at first and more rapidly later. Although no official statement was issued ending the mission, it was largely a thing of the past by 1885.

Extraordinary needs arose occasionally that extended the usefulness of the mission and the fact that numerous crises marked the course of colonization prolonged its use. For example, the political discord at St. Johns required repeated mission calls, and the general unattractiveness of the area and the reluctance of Mormons to live in it also resulted in a continued application of the mission. On the other hand, the fact that the region was settled late in the history of the fron-

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> "I take it upon myself to release you as of this day and hope that you may soon join your family in Colorado.'"

See Albert E. Smith, ed., Thales Hastings Haskell, Pioneer, Scout, Explorer, Indian Missionary, 1847-1909 (published privately, 1964), p. 51.

tier curtailed its longer use. Indian trouble no longer necessitated extraordinary mobilization, and railroads and contact with the Gentile economy likewise lessened the need for its task-force organization. A combination of such factors resulted in an extensive use of the mission during the first decade of settlement and its passing as a useful instrument thereafter.

Although the last general mission call was made no later than 1884 and the administrative organization of the church was well established by 1887, the extent to which the mission was employed sets the Little Colorado apart from other areas of the Colorado Plateau into which the church expanded during the last years of the 1870's and early 1880's. Missions were assigned to the San Juan River and to Castle Valley, but there is no evidence that formal calls were made for large groups of colonizing missionaries after the earliest years in these areas. In the latter region, the transmontane movement once initiated advanced by voluntary and individual means. The building of the Denver and the Rio Grande and development of eastern Utah's coal fields undoubtedly contributed to this natural movement. San Juan was even more remote than the Little Colorado, but the determination of the church to maintain this outpost was by no means as consistent as it was in relation to northern Arizona. At times San Juan missionaries were advised that they were under no obligation to stay as far as church policy was concerned. Some persisted, finding in their own interpretations of their original calls reasons to be steadfast, but they were not succored morally and physically by continued and vigorous use of the mission as in the case of the Little Colorado.[55]

It would thus appear that motives, geography, and circumstances conspired at this relatively late date in Mormon history to make the Little Colorado a rare example of the mission of expansion applied to accomplish objectives that would have failed without its extensive use. By the mission, the Little Colorado's earliest administrative organization came to be. By its use, Mormon society was mobilized to carry out what to most was an unattractive task. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that even the limited success of this colonization could not have been achieved without it.

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[55] Although new settlers were encouraged to move onto the San Juan frontier of southeast Utah in 1887 and perhaps at other times, the policy of the church in respect to San Juan was vacillating to say the least. During the first hard years at Bluff and Montezuma, the colonists were split in their loyalties and hampered by the failure of church leaders to agree relative to the wisdom of continuing the mission. President John Taylor visited Kanab in November of 1881 where a main topic of conversation was the welfare of San Juan. After hearing various complaints from San Juan, John Taylor is reported to have said:

> ". . . that so far as the first Presidency are concerned there can no blame attach to them in those people being called to or remaining . . . in that place and they are under no responsibility in that matter. If the country is found to be not as represented or as contemplated the Saints should not be compelled to stay there under restraint--and in danger or Jeopardy but they should take proper care of their selves and move where they will be safe--It is not right for the men to have to leave their wives and families unprotected--and the Saints should not be required to stay in a place where they could not provide for themselves."

The San Juan settlers regarded themselves to be bound to the place by their mission calls and requested additional forces. There is no evidence that this need was met although Taylor did write a long letter of instruction and sent Edward Dalton of Parowan to counsel them, but evidently with no authority to promise additional support or to release them See "Diary of L. John Nuttall," November 3-5, 1881, pp. 406-409.

In his *Desert Saints: The Mormon Frontier in Utah* (Phoenix Books paper edition; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), p. 369, Nels Anderson tells of original cotton missionaries in Utah's Dixie who continued to cultivate small plots of cotton in their gardens because as they said they had "not been released from the work."

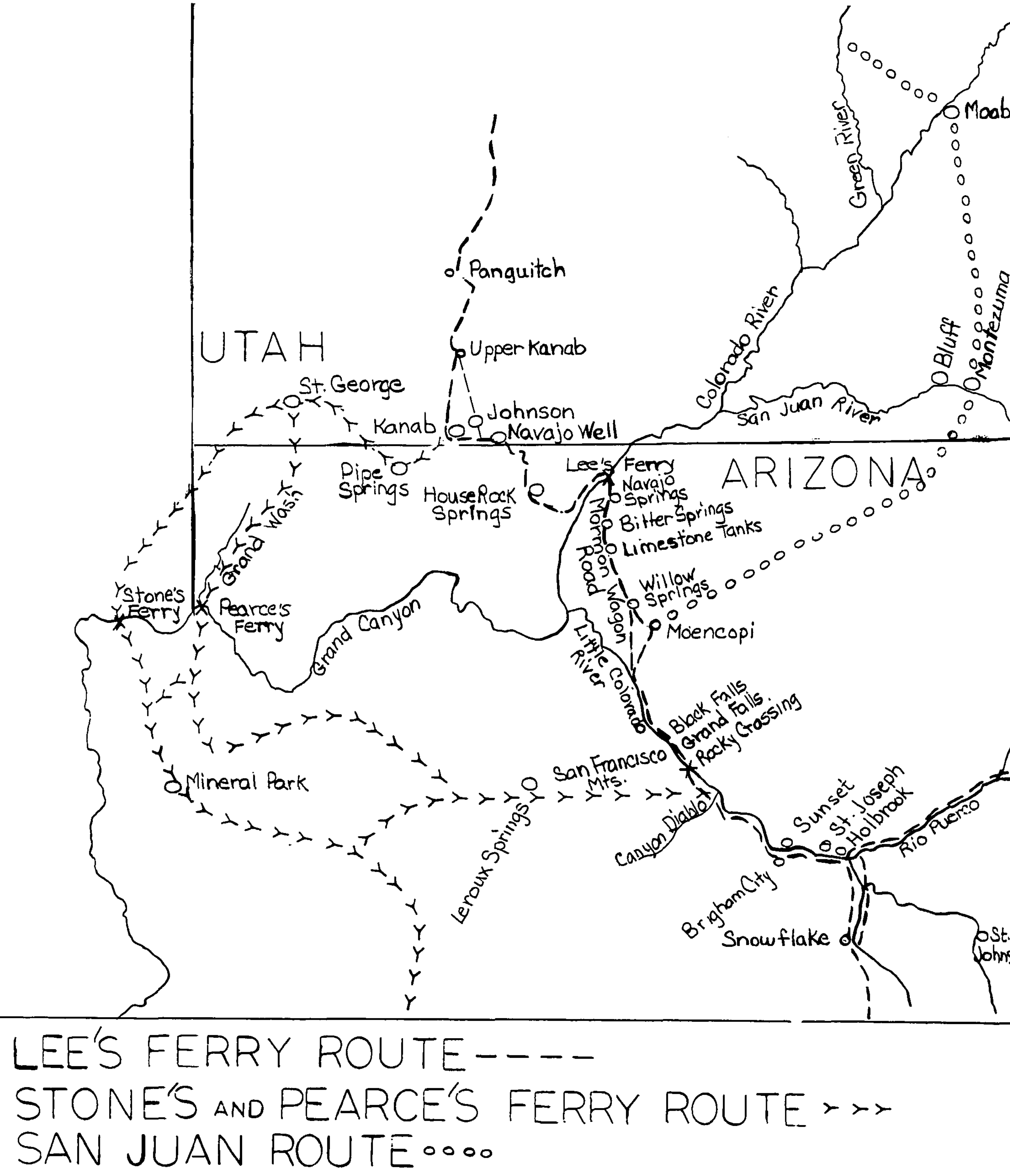
CHAPTER IV

THE TREK OVER THE LEE'S FERRY ROAD

Preparations

In January of 1876, James S. Brown returned to Salt Lake City from his exploratory mission to the Little Colorado River and reported his favorable impression of the region. Fearing that the open conditions necessary to pre-emptive expansion were passing, the church moved immediately to establish colonies there. Acting with such haste as to suggest that the plan of colonization had been previously laid and was waiting only on Brown's evaluation for implementation, Brigham Young prodded the first of recurrent groups onto the southward roads within four weeks. During the ensuing months, trails penetrated earlier by only the hardiest scouts became beaten ways known firsthand to hundreds of Mormon emigrants and to thousands more through personal letters and the pages of the Deseret News.

A call for two hundred men and families was hastily circulated through the stakes and wards of northern and central Utah. Following its directives, most of the missionaries met in Salt Lake City late in January where they were organized into companies of fifty according to the locality from which they came. One early historian recounted that the organizational arrangements were effected with:


UTAH
ARIZONA
Panguitch
Upper Kanab
St. George
Kanab
Johnson
Navajo Well
Pipe Springs
HouseRock Springs
Lee's Ferry
Navajo Springs
Bitter Springs
Limestone Tanks
Mormon Wagon Road
Willow Springs
Moencopi
Little Colorado River
Black Falls
Grand Falls
Rocky Crossing
Grand Wash
Stone's Ferry
Pearce's Ferry
Grand Canyon
Mineral Park
San Francisco Mts.
Leroux Springs
Canyon Diablo
Sunset
St. Joseph
Holbrook
Rio Puerco
Brigham City
Snowflake
Green River
Moab
Colorado River
San Juan River
Bluff
Montezuma
LEE'S FERRY ROUTE----
STONE'S AND PEARCE'S FERRY ROUTE >>>
SAN JUAN ROUTE oooo

MORMON ROUTES TO ARIZONA

Map 2

> Lot Smith as captain of the company . . . from the 12th ward and upwards of Salt Lake City, and northern portions of Salt Lake County and the Counties of Davis, Morgan, Summit, and Wasatch. George Lake as Captain of those called from Weber, Box Elder and Cache Counties. Wm. C. Allen as captain of those called from the 1st and up to and including the 11th ward Salt Lake City and the southern portion of Salt Lake County and the County of Utah. Jesse O. Ballinger as Captain of those called from Sanpete and Juab Counties.[1]

They were also briefed as to what they might expect in the Little Colorado country and how to prepare for the trip. Finally, the necessity of hurrying was impressed upon them. The great majority of those called responded, most of them rather quickly, and by the first of February scattered groups began to work their way south. Thereafter, the trek over the Lee's Ferry road became a continuing aspect of the Little Colorado colony's existence.

As they rushed to put their affairs in order, these first missionaries were confronted with problems that characterized the entire Mormon migration to Arizona. At the outset at least, most mission calls were considered to be for permanent colonization. Consequently, it was necessary to make extensive and careful preparations. Although there was a sameness about the process of making ready, the time allowed varied greatly according to the needs out of which the different calls grew and the circumstances of the individuals called. The missionaries who left during those short winter days of 1876 made their departure within a month of the time they were called. Inevitably some were unable to settle their affairs and it became necessary for them to return to Utah when circumstances permitted to put the finishing touches to their preparations. Later, as the nature of the urgency shifted and the costs of the return trip in terms of time and truancy became apparent, it was more customary to give six months or even longer for the missionary to make preparations.

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[1] See Friehoff G. Nielsen, "The History of the Little Colorado Mission," a fragmentary document included in "Joseph City Ward History."

One of the first steps in preparing for the mission was the disposition of Utah property. Although such was not always the case, prospective emigrants were usually counseled to dispose of their holdings and sever all bonds with their earlier economic pursuits. Therefore, the move south generally required that property not only be sold but that it be moved quickly. Characteristic of the first year's experience was that of one Lehi missionary who received his call on January 23. On the thirty-first he sold his homestead and at the end of another week left for the Little Colorado River.[2] A favored few were helped in the process as the call by which they were directed to Arizona charged men to purchase their property. Such was the case at Mt. Pleasant where "persons were designated to buy out the brethren called at fair, just and equitable prices."[3]

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[2] "Diary of John Bushman," typed copy prepared especially from handwritten original by George S. Tanner of Salt Lake City, copy in hands of writer. Martin D. Bushman of Snowflake, Arizona has the handwritten original (1876).

[3] Deseret News, February 9, 1876.

Forced as a rule to seek their own markets, missionaries found it extremely difficult to get "equitable prices." Indeed, mission calls appear to have created a buyer's market with land and improvements almost always going for prices far below the value placed upon them by the missionaries. In spite of the widely accepted idea that the expansion of the church during the last decades of the century grew out of the tight land situation in territorial Utah, there is no indication that the condition was sufficiently acute to result in ready sales of the lands of those called to Arizona. Although they sometimes resented the dilemma they found themselves in and commented on its irony, most of the missionaries appear to have regarded the losses they sustained as part of the sacrifice incident to settling a new country.

Some tried to minimize the loss by leaving their property in the hands of friends or family to sell under more favorable circumstances, or they returned themselves and sought to move it at their leisure during subsequent winters. Even when this course was followed, missionaries were not always able to dispose of their holdings at satisfactory prices. A case of this sort was that of Miles P. Romney, who after a year or two in Arizona returned to St. George to sell his property. After reducing the price to one quarter of its ordinary value without finding a buyer, he finally boarded up his buildings and held on.[4] Others depending upon the returns from property to outfit themselves for the trip found it necessary to sell no matter what the price. Most often such transactions took place with little or no cash changing hands, the emigrant taking cattle, horses, or equipment in return for land and improvements.

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[4] Ibid., November 23, 1881.

In planning for the trip and the new life that lay at the end of it, missionaries drew from various sources. Although at the time of their call many were not frontiersmen in the ordinary sense, the Mormon experience had been one of pioneering, and in a general way they had a good grasp of what would be expected of them. Many of them had crossed the continent by wagon or handcart; all of them knew people who had. The processes of the church including its expansions had resulted in a mobile frontier so that the pioneers of the Little Colorado were not novices in the lore of the trail. In addition to this environmental or cultural preparation, many of the early missionaries met for briefing sessions where they were instructed as to the needs of the trip and the route. Furthermore, during times of heavy migration successive rendezvous were established along the trail where experienced frontiersmen gave additional instruction and aid to travelers.[5] As the years passed, leaders and personal friends in Arizona wrote detailed letters specifying needs that had become apparent during the process of colonization. These letters, some of which were addressed to the Deseret News, often received broad coverage and gave considerable data on trail conditions and life in Arizona.

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[5] In the migration of 1873, for example, Pipe Springs and Moencopi were designated as such rendezvous spots. At these two sites, incoming travelers were met by Joseph W. Young, who had overview of the entire operation in the south, and Horton D. Haight, President of the actual colonizing mission. See letter of Brigham Young to Joseph W. Young, March 10, 1873, Brigham Young Letter Box, CHO. Also letter of Henry Holmes to F. D. Richards, June 27, 1873, Millennial Star, XXV, 552-34.

As preparation for the trip proceeded, special attention was given to draft stock and wagons. Although what a man had on hand was often the determining factor, considerable pains were taken to secure the best. Teams were trained and animals traded. It was thought by some that brood mares would be of the greatest value. Yet individual preference and custom often dictated in favor of oxen or mules, which others were sure would be better suited to the desert condition of Arizona. In any event, it was a motley array that took to the trail at the front of the wagons of the Little Colorado settlers, with teams of horses, oxen, and mules to be seen in virtually every group of emigrants.

Wagons were repaired and when possible new ones were purchased. From the very first it was found possible to refit along the way, and references to both buying and selling wagons en route are not infrequent. Within a very short time it was apparent that well-made, medium-sized wagons were best for the purpose of the long southward trip. But as in the case of teams, variety was the norm. Many proceeded with only one wagon and a two horse team, while others equipped themselves far more elaborately, taking as many as five or six wagons and draft animals in commensurate numbers. Frequently, wagons in tandem drawn by long strings of oxen or mules were used. The characteristic wagon was covered with a tarp which kept the worst of the elements out though inevitably water and dust reached the precious goods within.

Wagons were loaded with an eye to the long haul south and to the needs of the new life at the end of the trail, with each pioneer doubtless seeking some kind of a practacal adjustment of the problems raised by the two sets of needs. A rule of thumb sometimes followed was to limit the weight to 2000 pounds per wagon. A more valuable guide came from a missionary who wrote from Arizona to suggest medium-sized work horses and good wagons not loaded "to exceed six (6) or seven (7) hundred pounds to each animal."[6]

Cargoes were characteristically utilitarian in nature. Grain for draft stock and seed purposes was an ordinary item as were implements for use once the new land had been gained. One bachelor missionary from Hyde Park who accompanied Lot Smith in 1876 stressed the essentials, taking:

> $50.00 in cash, 4 oxen, one wagon, one plane, hoe, pitchfork, crow bar, one rifle, two barrels of nails, one bucket, milk pan, and strainer, lantern, bake and camp kettle, a fry pan, two tin plates and cups, knives, forks and spoons, four blankets and a bed, two pair of shoes and three pair of boots, 4 bu. wheat, 1 1/2 bu. of potatoes, 500 lbs of flour, 40 gal of molasses, 20 lbs of ap-

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[6] Deseret News, March 24, 1880.

> ples, one ham and six lbs of butter, 4 lbs of candles, 9 lbs of soap, 16 boxes of matches and some garden seed.[7]

All did not limit themselves to such spartan necessities, and luxuries were taken to brighten the new homes, including an occasional piano or organ. Men either found it easier to restrict themselves in what they loaded or were persuaded that the items they selected were necessaries. Women on the other hand, were often accused of loading excessively with things that could be done without. Regardless of where the blame lay, these pioneers, like others who had gone before, often loaded too heavily and found it necessary to jettison a variety of items en route, including family heirlooms and such necessities of the frontier as flat irons, wood ranges, and sewing machines. Sometimes it was necessary to abandon or sell wagons on the road as livestock proved to be inadequate in numbers or gave out.[8]

Leaders and experienced travelers worked constantly to limit loads. An interesting story related by Daniel W. Jones, who in 1877 led a party south by way of St. George and Pearce's Crossing below the Grand Canyon, reveals Brigham Young's ability to deal with this sort of trouble where the best efforts of lesser leaders failed. Jones, who had cut his own load to the bare essentials, had given up in his efforts to get others to do likewise and told Brigham so. To his remark, the president replied:

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[7] See "Diary of Peter Nielson," translated from the Danish by J. F. Nielson, compiled by Friehoff G. Nielson, p. 217. Copy in the hands of Mrs. LaVinta Shiner, Price, Utah.

[8] Elise Schmitz Hun tells of a situation where concern for traveling comfort outran the ability of livestock to last on rough roads:

> "My husband fitted up two wagons to take our belongings. He put a stove in one of the wagons and we were very comfortable, but before we had traveled far and seen what kind of roads there were we knew that we could never be able to make it with the teams we had so we traded one of the wagons for more teams."

See "Elise Schmitz Hun, Her Autobiography," Roberta Clayton Papers, BYU.

> Get your company in the best shape you can and as soon as possible move out. There is a nice little settlement, Santa Clara, on your road. There is a beautiful piece of sandy road from here to there, just as will help you get the brethren to see the importance of lightening up. When you get there you can set up an auction store. The people are pretty well off and will be able to buy what you have to sell.[9]

Jones complied with this suggestion, and it proved to be substantially as Young had foreseen with the exception that the travelers traded with such skill that their new loads of grain and dried fruit were nearly as heavy as the irons and sewing machines swapped off. But as the expedition's wagon master laconically commented, it was better to "roll at a wheel to help get a sack of corn over a hard place" than it was to "strain his back to move an old stove along that was not worth hauling."[10]

In addition to the ordinary physical preparations for the trip and pioneer life, many of those called took advantage of the newly opened temple at St. George or the Endowment House in Salt Lake City to perform holy ordinances that could not be done in the deserts of Arizona. Some were married for the first, second, or third times, and others did temple work for their dead. Church and civic positions were resigned, and the inevitable round of farewell parties and meetings wound up the process of preparation.

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[9] Jones, p. 290.

[10] Ibid., p. 291.

The Trail

Preparations completed, the missionaries took the trail. The routes south through Utah were well worked out and followed closely the existing line of settlements. Beyond them, however, the roads ran through open country, most of it desert or ruggedly mountainous. The terrain , which has always curtailed easy transit between southern Utah and northern Arizona was forbidding; there were in fact, few avenues to accommodate wheeled vehicles.

By 1880 three routes to the Little Colorado had been opened. Two little used roads flanked the canyon lands that lay athwart the borders of Utah and Arizona. The lower or southern route, which had been pioneered by Jacob Hamblin, ran south from St. George to cross the Colorado at Pearce's Ferry at the mouth of Grand Wash or a few miles downstream near the confluence of the Virgin and the Colorado at Stone's, or, as Mormons knew it, Bonelli's Ferry. Once over the river, the main line of Arizona traffic bore a little east of south from the latter crossing to about the present site of Kingman, from which it cut east between the headwaters of Bill Williams Fork and the Verde River and then dropped on down to the Salt River. After leaving the river by way of Grapevine Wash, Pearce's Ferry traffic either veered southwest to join the Stone's Ferry road or held nearly due south through Wallapai Valley before turning east by southeast along the Sitgreaves trail which joined the Prescott to Fort Wingate mail road just south of Bill William's Mountain and thence to the Little Colorado at Canyon Diablo. Little Colorado emigrants who chose the Stone's Ferry route followed it to a few miles south of Mineral Park where they turned sharply east picking up the Prescott to Fort Wingate road. In addition to these trails, there also appears to have been some effort to open a more direct route east from Wallapai Valley to strike the Little Colorado north of the San Francisco Mountains.[11] In spite of high hopes among their advocates, these roads did not solve the problems of feed and water and were less direct; as a consequence, they did not bear any great portion of the Little Colorado traffic, although the Stone's Ferry route was important in the movement to southern Arizona.

Another little-used route to northern Arizona was opened via

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[11] Jacob Hamblin had laid the groundwork for all these routes prior to 1873. Reworking the ground in the winter of 1876-77 as he traveled to and from the Little Colorado, Hamblin reported that the route north of the San Francisco Mountains, which he called "one of the best natural roads," had real prospects. While his optimistic estimate did not prove accurate, the interest of the church in a passage that avoided the trials of the Lee's Ferry road was most apparent. See letter of Jacob Hamblin to Deseret News, February 28, 1877. See map p. 112.

Utah's San Juan country. Taken aback at the rigors of the trip over the earliest road, Arizona's first pioneers and church leaders alike looked to the southeast for an easier route. Revealing this interest, Brigham Young advised Lot Smith late in the summer of 1876 to counsel missionaries to stay with the known route while the San Juan was further studied. But after William C. Allen, one of the leaders of fifty, struggled back to Utah by way of the San Juan during August and September, it was temporarily given up. However, as the movement of the church to the southeast accelerated in the last years of the 1870's, Erastus Snow and other leaders continued to feel that this would become a strategic and heavily trafficked route. Indeed, the San Juan colony was to some degree founded to serve in the communications system envisaged.[12] Even after the Hole-in-the-Rock expedition had taken the country's measure, Snow continued to hope that a Mormon road could be developed through the region and in the fall of 1880 wrote urging church authorities to take action to secure the route. He counseled that "Sixty or more Good reliable perservering men" be called to lay claim to the Gunnison Crossing at present-day Green River which, in his words, would "complete our chain of settlements on the Route which is destined to be our nearest and best route from our northern settlements to San Juan Country, Northern New Mexico, Southern Colorado and Eastern Arizona. . . ."[13]

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[12] Reflecting this interest, Erastus Snow wrote John Taylor on November 6, 1879: "Silas S. Smith has started for San Juan with forty to fifty men and some boys and quite a few families, with Boats &c intending to hew their way threw the Canyon and open a straight or more direct route to San Juan and as he thinks also to the head of Little Colorado." See Erastus Snow Letter Box, CHO.

The Main-Traveled Way

The main-traveled way south took the most direct route, threading between Utah's mountain ranges to cross the Colorado River at Lee's Ferry. It was over this road that the missions of 1873 and 1876 made their way, and, despite frequently voiced hopes to supplant it in its dominant role, it continued to be the most heavily traveled road between Utah and the new colony during the remaining years of the nineteenth century.

The Lee's Ferry road was impressive among other reasons for its distances. If the trail began in northern Utah or southern Idaho, it stretched out for seven hundred miles or more. If it began in the southern part of the territory, it was substantially less, perhaps a little more than three hundred miles depending on the points of origin and destination; but these last were the hardest miles of the road and still constituted a long and exhausting trip.

South to the Sevier Valley the route was heavily traveled and ran through a relatively level country. Consequently, pioneers made good time, pausing only to recruit their stock and visit with friends in the communities that lay along the way. But as the road wound up the Sevier River, conditions worsened and the cold of the winter travel that characterized most of the Arizona migration was made more extreme by mounting elevations. Forced to cross and recross the stream, winter migrants experienced great difficulty getting in and out of the river by way of partially frozen dugouts. Crossings were further complicated by the necessity of entering freezing water to chop ice not yet thick enough to hold loaded wagons.[14]

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[13] See letter of Erastus Snow to John Taylor, September 29, 1880, Erastus Snow Letter Box, CHO. It is significant to note that the Mons Larson family, Llewelyn Harris, and perhaps others were bound for the Little Colorado when they took up with the Hole-in-the-Rock expedition. See Miller, pp. 129-30, 157, 178. Harris described his journey to Arizona in a letter that found its way to the Deseret News, April 15, 1880.

Possibly no large group had better opportunity to test the road's winter miles than did the missionaries of 1876. Toiling up the Sevier Valley through snow that lay up to eighteen inches on the level and in temperatares that froze the feet of both livestock and humans, they were well initiated to the rigors of winter travel by the time they reached Panguitch. But as many of them feared, the hardest part of the journey lay ahead in the thirty-five mile mountain stretch from Panguitch to Orderville. After crossing the river just south of Panguitch, they followed the old road up the west branch of the Sevier a long day's drive to the Hatch Ranch where they girded themselves for the push on to the rim of the Great Basin which they reached near present-day Long Valley Junction. Although there were many outfits on the road, the trace through the snow drifted in almost as it was broken, and each new party found it necessary to break its own way through drifts three or four feet deep.[15] By pushing far into the night, some who were fortunate in the condition of their animals made it up the actual divide from Hatch to the rim of the basin in one long day. It took others four days, and one unfortunate party from Brigham City floundered in the snows eighteen days in making the sixty miles from Panguitch to Kanab.

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[14] One family writing after arriving in Arizona told of characteristic experiences as they moved up the Sevier Basin:

> "We made pretty good progress, and reached the Sevier River Feb. 15, a distance of about twenty miles from Lavan. /They had left their home in Salt Lake City on February 5./ Here we had our first camp out, an event by us long to be remembered, owing to the extreme severity of the night. The river frozen over to the depth of twenty inches. The day previous had been very warm and had thawed the mud and snow on the bank; it was therefore very deep and of a sticky kind, and loaded on our feet as if froze so bad that it seemed to us as though our boots would pull in pieces as we walked around to chain our cattle to the wagon to feed them. The wind blew most piercingly and increased during the night, and it froze so bad that it injured the feet of some of our oxen. Our family, five in number, had to crowd into the wagon to keep from freezing. . . . We then proceeded to Fort Gunnison, which we found to be a very pleasant place, and the snow was all gone. /February 18/ It certainly seemed as though Spring had arrived in that section of country. We had to stay there two days and half on account of one of our oxen getting a foot frozen at the Sevier river. . . ."

Ibid., September 27, 1876.

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[15] The following extract characterized the accounts of the journey over the rim of the Great Basin:

> "We have seen a letter, dated at Kanab, March 4th, from A. J. Lucas, one of the missionaries for Arizona, selected from the 20th Ward. From it we learn that himself and companion had somewhat of a rough time on the way south. . . . They were four days on the divide, where the snow was three feet deep, making ten miles a day, working till midnight one night to make that distance, The road had been broken previously, but had filled up again, and was the worst road they had ever seen."

Ibid., September 27, 1876.

From the summit they went south along the course now followed by Highway 89. The downhill road proved to be nearly as trying as had the drag up. Where pioneers had been plagued with snow and cold on the north slope, the primary problem of the descent was ice. One man finding that the steepest roads in northern Utah would not compare to it related that "sometimes three animals were down out of four, and every minute we expected to see an axletree broken but we all got through safe."[16]

Although the entire emigration of that winter moved through Long Valley and Kanab, the route from the rim of the Great Basin east to Upper Kanab, or present-day Alton, and then down Johnson Creek to the village of the same name which lies twelve miles east of Kanab carried much of the Arizona traffic. Cutting several miles from the trip, it avoided a hard pull over the sand hills between Carmel Junction and Kanab. Brigham Young doubtless had this route in mind when he called the Johnson family to settle at the mouth of Johnson Canyon in 1871. The little outpost that they established which included a small store was the last touch with civilization that emigrants had before they rolled on into the wilds of northern Arizona.[17]

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[16] Ibid., April 5, 1876. The snows of that year were unusually heavy; for one period of over a week it snowed without letup. James T. Woods and three other families who were caught on the divide abandoned all but one wagon in which they escaped, pushing on with their livestock. Ibid., September 27, 1876.

A proposed variation of the route which would have gone by way of the Paria River received some consideration during the early days, and a road approximating its course was actually used at a relatively late date by the Little Colorado Saints. This route turned east a few miles south of Panguitch, dropped off what was locally termed "the dump" into the north end of the present-day Bryce Canyon National Park, and then followed down the Paria River for some distance to the settlement of Paria whence it turned abruptly south to reach House Rock Valley via Coyote Wash, passing along the eastern slope of the Kaibab. The northern end of this road was traveled at an early date. In September of 1870 as part of a tour to determine the prospects of settlement in the south, Brigham Young and John W. Powell had scrambled over it without sacrificing too greatly in the way of comfort, for their outfit included a commissary, or, in the words of John D. Lee, "a Boarding veeacle or a Traveling Tavorn," which dispensed "Baked Chickings /and/ Beef, Mellons &c."[18] Finding Paria, as Lee called Peter Shirts' Fort which lay about five miles below the site of the future settlement of Paria, to be an "overrated locality," the party concluded it was "only fit for the Indians & a few men to teach them how to farm & cut steps in the Rock where they could climb out in case of a flood. . . ."[19] Although the country "was then--and still remains the literal edge of the world,"[20] a town was soon established and more or less regular traffic opened into it. By 1876 Paria could be reached from Johnson to the west as well as the road down the Paria River from the north. Recognizing the possibility of opening a road south from this town through Coyote Wash to House Rock Valley, settlers at Paria explored a bit and one of them hopefully wrote the Deseret News:

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[17] Jesse N. Smith's experience at Johnson was not extraordinary. Finding supply at the little store, he restocked, buying among other things such diversities as hardwood for wagon repairs and a "pint of alcohol . . . so much diluted with water that it was powerless for good or evil." See Journal of Jesse N. Smith, pp. 230-31.

[18] Cleland and Brooks, II, 135-37.

> Seeing that there is quite an emigration for Arizona, I will say that, I think the route might be materially bettered by coming from Panguitch down the Pahrea, hence across to HouseRock. It would shorten the distance at least 20 miles, and some think from 20 to 50 miles, avoid crossing the Buckskin Mountain, and be better on account of water in summer and snow in winter. The road has been traveled to the Pahrea settlement, and we will open the road through to the House Rock Springs in a few days."[21]

Although no reference is made in pioneer journals of traveling this way, the road was open by 1909 when the Josiah E. Ashcroft family passed over it while making their way back to Utah after years on the New Mexico frontier.[22]

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[19] Ibid., pp. 137-38.

[20] Ibid., p. 137.

[21] Deseret News, April 12, 1876.

[22] Interview of May 20, 1966 between writer and Mrs. Lavinta Shiner of Price, Utah who made the trip as a child.

Going by way of Johnson Canyon or Kanab, the main part of the migration passed through Johnson and east about eight miles to Navajo Wells before leaving Utah to cross over the Kaibab Plateau through House Rock Valley to Lee's Ferry. Pioneer estimates placed the distance of this section at about seventy miles. With extended dry marches and its pull over the Kaibab, it was one of the hardest stretches of the entire route.

The miles across the eastern end of the Kaibab were perhaps the most variable of the journey, changing vastly according to the season. During the winter, it could be and often was a frozen forest of juniper and pinion where snows piled axletree deep. In the spring it became a slimy sea of mud and in the summer, a searing dust choked and wagon wrenching stairway. Some drivers found it to be the most trying drive encountered in long lives upon the frontier.[23]

From the east foot of the Kiabab, the road dropped through House Rock Valley to pick up the Vermillion Cliffs which it followed as they looped east and north to Lee's Ferry. Four water holes--House Rock Springs, Jacob's Pools, Soap Creek, and Badger Creek--provided a scanty and, in the case of the latter two places, a foul-tasting supply of water. Of the four, House Rock Springs which lay about three-quarters of a mile east of the road at the foot of steep sandstone cliffs provided not only the best supply of water but good grazing and firewood as well. Consequently, it became a major resting place, and the cliffs and rocks around it are perhaps the best register of the Arizona migration as several hundred travelers took time to chisel their names and the dates of their visit.[24]

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[23] Such a one was L. H. Hatch; see "Lorenzo Hill Hatch Journal," p. 87. In May of 1876, James T. Woods, who a few weeks before had suffered from frostbite and fled the drifting snows near the rim of the basin, found the Kaibab stretch to be transformed by unseasonable heat and had his "entire satisfaction of summer" while passing over these low lying mountains. See Deseret News, September 23, 1876. Anthony W. Ivins noted that the mountains received their name "Kaibab" or "lying" in Indian from their sprawling nature. "Anthony Woodward Ivins Journal," p. 27.

Presauging the future of travel over it, John D. Lee's experience in opening the road between Johnson and the Colorado River at the mouth of the Paria in 1871 had been almost unbelievably difficult. Like most Mormon colonizing endeavors, the establishment of the ferry was to have been a cooperative action, and scouts who knew that Kaibab.-House Rock Valley trail were directed to guide and help Lee in opening the new road. As it turned out, the entire undertaking was a medley of error, miscalculation, and struggle. Men failed, equipment broke, and cattle and Lee himself went astray. Consequently, it was only after weeks of staggering exertion that Lee succeeded in moving his cattle to the site and working the first wagon trace to the south of the Paria.[25] Thereafter, the trail was improved and traveled occasionally by Lee himself and other frontier Mormons as well as miners and government survey crews.

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[24] See photographs following page 240.

[25] Cleland and Brooks, II, 185-86.

Persistent rumors of hostile attitudes and action on the part of the miners, coupled with the fact that a considerable number of them were crossing the country en route to the San Juan mining field in Colorado, raised fears among the apprehensive Mormons. Their suspicion mounting when certain miners announced their intent to claim key water holes, the Mormons, including Hamblin and Lee, moved to acquire clear control of the springs on the House Rock section of the road. Jacob Hamblin established a small livestock operation in the House Rock Valley, which according to his son the Indians had ceded to him. Developing House Rock Springs somewhat, he built a small cabin at the site.[26] Lee claimed the water at Jacob's Pools and after building a rock hut there, ran stock in the area for several years before trading his claim to Hamblin. The object of much of the hostile talk, Lee felt his vulnerability. He was therefore anxious to secure the water in the interest of the church and found the "want of a little snap" on the part of his associates to be most galling.[27] However, the flurry of prospecting interest

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[26] Ibid., p. 185-86. Also see Corbett, pp. 328, 330, 518.

[27] Cleland and Brooks, II, 185-86. In company with John Mangram and a Brother Heath, Lee arrived at Jacob's Pools on April 6, 1872 where the following exchange took place which is instructive to both the plan to control the route by possession of its water and Lee's feelings about it:

> "Here /Jacob's Pools/ Jno. Mangram proposed to return home & at some future time come & secure this & the Ranch at Soapcreek. I felt so indignant at the Idear of Coming some 80 Miles & going back without doeing anything and risking the chance to fall into the hands of our Enemies for the want of a little snap, that /I/ spoke a

soon passed and with it the threat of Gentile control; consequently, with the exception of Lee's holdings, the ranching operations appear to have lapsed. However, the movement of miners over the route in 1872 and the Mormon effort to retain control did much to establish the road. By the time of the Little Colorado migration, its course was well fixed, but it remained for many years a challenge and a threat to all who passed that way.

Lee's Ferry

A vital link in the chain of communications to northern Arizona was Lee's Ferry at the mouth of Paria River. This crossing had been discovered prior to 1860 by Jacob Hamblin, who along with other Indian scouts used it occasionally. As we have just observed, John D. Lee was dispatched to the spot late in 1871 where he established a ferry which he operated until he was taken by the federal authorities in Panguitch in 1874.[28] At the time of Lee's arrest, his wife Emma assumed

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> little cross & sharp& said that I had to much reguard for the confidence that leaders reposed in me & too Much interest for this Kingdom than to flat out like that; that he was a conselor & Should be the last man to flat out."

Lee evidently won some concessions from Mangram as they stayed. On the seventh, they staked off the Springs and build "3 feet wall of a House by noon" when a company of miners came along and announced that they had intended to secure "those Springs, But we were ahead of them."

[28] Some hint of Brigham's thoughts as to John D. Lee's future was apparent in a conversation between Lee and Young recorded by the former at the time of the president's 1870 visit to Paria:

the responsibility of the ferry and with the help of Warren Johnson stayed on for the next five years. Before his death in 1877, Brigham Young authorized Ephraim K. Hanks to purchase the ferry from Mrs. Lee in the interest of the church, but the transaction fell through on the passing of the president. Thereafter, Warren M. Johnson made similar overtures, but the ferry remained in Mrs. Lee's hands until the spring of 1879. It being rumored that outsiders were negotiating with her, John Taylor directed John W. Young, who was at Moencopi during that spring, to buy out the place. This Young was able to do, and for a consideration of $3000, paid mostly in livestock, the ferry became the property of the church and of the Little Colorado settlements which advanced some of the cattle used in the purchase.[29]

> ". . . Pres. Young gave me some kind Fatherly council. Said to Me that he would like to have Me Gather My wives, sons & Daughters around me & setle in any of the Places we should Seclect & Start the Family order, stating that I had passed through a great deal of Hardship in my Life & Now he would like to See me Enjoy peace the balance of my days. I replied that My Mind led further to a country that I had Seen in visions & dreams. He continued, You will see that country; it /is/ over the Colorado in the San Francisco Mountain. I intend Bro. L. Stewart to go there & you May go too when the Time comes &c."

Juanita Brooks, "Lee's Ferry at Lonely Dell," Utah Historical Quarterly, XXV (1957), 284-95.

[29] For reference to the role of Hanks and Johnson, see McClintock, p. 93. Young's purchase of the ferry including the following excerpt from his letter telling of it is recorded in the "Diary of L. John Nuttall," p. 285.

> "Have purchased ferry and all property of Emma Bachelor Lee in your individual name. have taken possession in your name placed Joseph Foutz in charge to be assisted by Warren M. Johnson. Sis-

Important Mormon use of the ferry, however, had begun in 1873 when the unsuccessful colonizing mission led by Horton D. Haight had used it both coming and going to Arizona. The outward-bound missionaries of that year found Lee living in primitive conditions but were moved across the river without untoward incident and without delay. Most of them were pleased with the operation and commended Lee for his service. Andrew Amundsen of South Jordan, who reached Lee's on April 22 with the first contingent of the mission, recorded his favorable impressions of both Lee and the crossing:

> When we got there we found John D. Lee working at the boat and two others. After dinner we corsed over animalls and one Wagon. Dea Lee was a verry jocky, an jovele, full of fun. The morning wass very calm no wind, and the Rivver still, the wether pretty and clear, birds singing and all injoyed a good spirrit, we then comenst crossing over Wagons, all over sef and sound. . . .[30]

As the spring wore on, some missionaries even found time for pleasure and, much to Lee's satisfaction, took time to join his family in moon-

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ter Lee has the use of her house and lucerne until September Price paid three thousand dollars- twenty five hundred in horn Stock and one wagon- Five hundred dollars in draft on you payable ten days after sight. forwarded by same messenger to as at Moencoppy. Balance due of fourteen hundred & thirty two dollars -& paid in order on Lot Smith, Stock, for which they are now gathering at Sunset & trust a great amount of stock can be turned in on tithing & the balance can be turned as you think best, everything secure here, trust it will be satisfactory. have consulted fully with L. A. [Lewis Allen, the name assumed by Wilford Woodruff during an extended "underground" sojourn on the Little Colorado in 1879-80] in everything . . . good and sufficient deed given. . . . x John W. Young"

[30] See Amundsen.

light boat rides "over the Still waters of the Colorado" complete with "Music by the constantina."[31] Joy rides were soon made impossible by rising waters as the spring run-off hit the canyons. When Haight's dispirited missionaries limped back to the river some weeks later, the flood was at its peak and, to make matters worse, the ferryboat had slipped its mooring. It was thus necessary to turn to an expedient not unknown to later travellers--that of crossing in Lee's tiny skiff--and the entire company of some forty wagons was conveyed over the river a few pieces at a time after the wagons had been dismantled.[32]

Even without the burden of conscience that accompanied the retreat of the Haight party or the inconvenience of crossing in the boat, a certain amount of tension and fear always accompanied the river's passage. In part, this was a matter of expediting the movement of traffic and keeping this potential bottleneck clear. The nature of the desert over which the migration moved necessitated that emigrants be spread out, and any undue delay at the river complicated the trip on across the desert. An additional factor was the limited feed at Lonely Dell, as Lee's wife had named their home. Large numbers of stock simply could not be fed; consequently, traffic had to be kept moving. This was not easy. The boat was small and open, and excited cattle crowded onto its unfamiliar deck often quit it singly or en masse and headed back for the north shore. Pioneer accounts indicate that much stock was forced to swim, an expedient that appears to have been more successful with horses than cattle. After 1879 as large herds were driven to Arizona, cattle sometimes milled on the north bank or, if crossed early, strayed unattended from the river while herdsmen struggled at the ferry as long as ten days to get herds across.[33]

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[31] Cleland and Brooks, II, 238. See Lee's notations for May 10 and 12.

[32] _Ibid._, p. 242.

At other times, crossing was accomplished much more quickly. On at least one occasion early in the winter of 1878, the river froze enabling pioneers to cross on the ice without waiting for the ferry. Children and household belongings were loaded upon upended tables and sledded across while wagons were pushed and cattle were either thrown and dragged or driven after the ice had been well sanded. It was an easy crossing but still a slow process and not without its anxieties as the burdened ice groaned and snapped and even cracked at one point so that the water could be seen below. Anthony W. Ivins, who crossed the ice thirty-two times in the course of moving one party over, revealed characteristic relief when he wrote that all were "feeling very thankful that we had successfully crossed that horrid river without loss of life or property."[34] Others took the ice span which appeared only in the comparatively calm water of the crossing to be a manifestation of the hand of the Lord in answer to their importunings that He "Cast up an highway in the midst of the deep."[35]

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[33] See Evans Coleman, "Biographical Sketch of William B. Maxwell," Coleman Papers, APHS.

Fear also grew, of course, from concern for human life. Deserts, Indians, and bad roads notwithstanding, the river with its rapids which ran only a few hundred yards below the crossing was undoubtedly regarded as the journey's greatest danger. Anxiety at crossing it was further excited by the condition of the ferry and other equipment which was makeshift and often in a state of disrepair. Of insufficient size and strength for the heavy outfits that used it, the ferryboat was sometimes damaged in transit by frightened livestock, and bailing appears to have been a regular necessity. The ferry operators, on the other hand, inspired confidence and a feeling of well-being. The reaction of travelers to Lee's competence has already been noted. Emma Lee and Warren Johnson were also known as capable and careful operators.[36] But occasionally mishaps occured, and in the course of the ferry's history several people drowned. Perhaps the best known of these was Lorenzo Roundy, who drowned in the spring of 1876 while making a crossing with Daniel H. Wells of the First Presidency and an official party bound for the new settlements on the Little Colorado.[37]

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[34] "Anthony Woodward Ivins Journal," p. 98. Erastus B. Snow, the son of the apostle was also present. His narrative of the experience follows:

> "The Colorado River, the Little Colorado and all the springs and watering places were frozen over. Many of the springs and tanks were entirely frozen up, so that we were compelled to melt snow and ice for our teams. We (that is J. W. Young and I), crossed our team and wagon on the ice over the Colorado. I assure you it was quite a novelty to me, to cross such a stream of water on ice; many other heavily loaded wagons did the same, some with 2500 pounds on. One party did a very foolish trick, which resulted in the loss of an ox; they attempted to cross three head of large cattle all yoked and chained together, and one of the wheelers stepped on a chain that was dragging behind, tripped and fell, pulling his mate with him, thereby bringing such a heft on the ice that it broke through, letting the whole into the water; but the ice being sufficiently strong they could stand on it and pull them out one at a time. One got under the ice and was drowned, the live one swimming some length of time holding the dead one up by the yoke."

See McClintock, p. 95.

[35] Logan Brimhall, "Table Sleighs," taken from "Diamond Jubilee Gems, Snowflake Stake of Zion, 1887-1962," compiled by Alice S. Hanson et al. Multilithed copy in possession of writer.

There was some variation in the fees charged for ferriage. According to Lee's own account, the Haight expedition of 1873 paid $3 per wagon and $1 for extra horses. By 1876 missionary fees were worked out at $1 per wagon and 25¢ for each extra animal. These charges were maintained for several years, but by 1879 there was either considerable inconsistency in their application or the general rate had been altered upward, for at that time Silas S. Smith, who was exploring the southern route to the San Juan country, chose to swim his horses rather than pay what he considered the excessive rate of $1 per head. Most missionaries seemed grateful at the nominal prices charged although an occasional traveler grumbled at the rate or the mercenary character of the operators.[38] There may have been some who felt that because of the church's obvious interest in the ferry, which included owning the ferryboat, missionaries ought to be entitled to free passes, but church leaders never seem to have suggested such a policy.[39]

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[36] "Autobiography of Joseph Fish," p. 155. Also see Brooks, Utah Historical Quarterly, XXV (1957), 284-90.

[37] McClintock, p. 87. Also see "Lorenzo Hill Hatch Journal," p. 83.

Before leaving the subject of the crossing, a word should be written about the road out of the river to the south. Hurriedly opened as the migration of 1873 approached, it led up a tilted and precipitate apron of rock over what has since been known as Lee's Backbone but what appears to have been called merely "the mountain" or "the Lee Hill" during years prior to 1880.[40] Complicated by the crazy pitch of the backbone and its scarred and broken rock surface, the climb was perhaps the worst pioneers encountered on the Lee's Ferry route. Teams were doubled and wagons taken singly to the top of the two-mile pull. Slowed by such procedures, parties of any size usually took a half day or more on the up-grade and a like period dropping off the other side where the steep and contorted terrain required that hind wheels be locked and spring seats and other loose equipment be tied to the wagons. When as occasionally happened other teams were not available, it was necessary as one pioneer noted, to "unload . . . and pack it up on our backs."[41]

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[38] For reactions typical to these two points of view see "Journal of Joseph Fish," December 19, 1878, p. 176. Also see the letter from George Dabling, Deseret News, September 20, 1876. For Silas Smith, see Miller, pp. 19-149 (Nielson B. Dalley's Diary, Appendix I).

[39] The question of rates and the church's relationship to the ferry was evidently discussed as early as 1873 when following the construction of a new boat for the church by John L. Blyth, Lee wrote an inquiry as to the position of the church. In reply, Brigham Young and George A. Smith wrote:

> "As to giving any one permission to cross without paying, we have never contempleted any thing of the kind. If you will see that this Ferry is kept up, you are welcome to the use of our Boat. You should charge a suitable price for your labour. When we come along with our company, we shall expect to pay you liberally for your services. . . ."

Letter to John D. Lee, January 28, 1874, St. George, Brigham Young Letter Book, CHO. Also see Cleland and Brooks, II, 327-28.

The climb over the Lee Hill was regarded with scarcely more enthusiasm than the river crossing itself and alternate routes were ultimately developed. Even before the work of construction was undertaken, the question of where a road could best be located led to a sharp conflict of opinion between Lee and Jacob Hamblin. Lee had established the ferry at an upper crossing which gained in safety what it sacrificed in ease of leaving the canyon. The latter favored a more dangerous crossing, somewhat downstream, leading to a much easier ascent from the river. After a good deal of consideration, it was concluded that the safety of Lee's upper route merited the added expense of construction and difficulty of travel, and a rudimentary trail was cleared during the late winter of 1873. Thereafter, occasional crews made small improvements, but the road remained substantially as it was left by the original construction mission until 1887 when a way was cleared, circling somewhat to the left of the rock apron but still making the climb over the hill. Although Lee's judgment had prevailed and the main crossing led out over the backbone, the ferry did use a lower crossing when conditions permitted, thus enabling travelers to avoid the hard climb out of the canyon. Finally, in 1898 a long dugout was constructed from the upper ferry around the edge of the cliff to the lower road which was used until 1928 when Navajo Bridge was completed a few miles downstream, consigning both the ferry and its routes out of the canyon to disuse.[42]

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[40] Joseph Fish notes specifically that it was called "the Lee hill" in 1878, which name he again applied to it in the following year. See "Autobiography of Joseph Fish," p. 156. Jesse N. Smith uses the same name in 1878 and calls it "the Hill" in 1880. See Journal of Jesse N. Smith, pp. 231, 241. Two diaries that refer to it in the 1876 migration both call it simply "the mountain." See "Lorenzo Hill Hatch Journal," p. 87 and "Journal of Daniel H. McAllister, Northern Arizona, 1876-77," typescript copy in BYU, copy in hands of writer, p. 4.

[41] "Autobiography of Joseph Fish," p. 163.

Arizona's Mormon Wagon Road

After crossing the river and struggling up Lee's Backbone, the emigrants followed Echo Cliffs as they stretched off to the south and east away from the river. From Navajo Springs, eight miles out from the ferry, the road they took known in Arizona as the Mormon Wagon Road approximated the route which Highway 89 now follows leading into the Little Colorado River a bit above the present-day bridge at Cameron some eighty-five miles south of the Colorado River. Passing first along what is called Tanner Wash on some maps and Roundy Creek on others, the road ran from Navajo Springs twelve miles up a slight grade through a rocky terrain broken by washes and sand patches to Bitter Springs.[43] Nine miles beyond Bitter Springs over a similar road were the Limestone Tanks where rain collected in water pockets in the canyon to afford a scanty supply of water. From the tanks, the road continued up a gentle but sandy slope into the cedars of the divide between Roundy Creek and Hamblin Wash which is part of the Little Colorado drainage. About fifteen miles beyond the divide, the road ran by Willow Springs which flowed out under the cliffs to provide the best water on the direct route to the Little Colorado and was consequently a much-used stopping place. As in the case of House Rock Springs, the rocks around it became a register of the migration, travelers chiseling and daubing axle grease to record their passing. Leaving the main road south of Willow Springs, an alternate route ran several miles out of the way to the east, passing through Moenave and Moencopi from which it turned southwest to pick up the main trail again in Moencopi Wash. Through-traffic ran from Willow Springs down Moencopi Wash twenty-five miles to the Little Colorado across what was often termed a "bad land."

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[42] For a thorough and recent study of Lee's Ferry, including data on the road out from which the above was taken, see C. Gregory Crampton and W. L. Rusho, A Report on the History of Lee's Ferry, Arizona, prepared for the National Park Service, 1965.

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[43] Both names were likely taken from early Mormon pioneers. We have already observed Lorenzo W. Roundy's role in the exploration of the country. Seth B. Tanner lived at Moencopi and at other isolated spots north of the Little Colorado during the decade after 1876.

No other section of the road was more barren or dry. There was live water at only three places and at two of these--Navajo Springs and Bitter Springs--it was often limited in amount and, as the name implies, was bad tasting at the latter spot. Fortunately, rain water gathered in natural reservoirs at two places that were convenient to the road, thus supplementing the live water. In addition to these more important water pockets, smaller ones could sometimes be found during wet seasons at least, if the need merited the time and trouble involved in the quest. By timing their migration to coincide with the cooler and wetter seasons and carrying water for the dry marches, humans and draft stock usually made the trek without undue suffering, but the efforts to trail large herds of livestock this way brought heavy losses.[44]

From where the road struck the Little Colorado River, it was approximately a hundred miles to the first Mormon settlement. Although the Mormon Wagon Road along this section was regularly traveled until the turn of the century, it has since fallen into complete disuse and no modern traffic follows the river's course except for the last twenty-five miles into Winslow which now stands near the sites of the defunct villages of Sunset and Brigham City. Most of the landmarks and names that designated the route have likewise fallen into disuse with only Black Falls and Grand Falls appearing on even United States Geological Survey maps of the region. Since this is true and since the writer had only visited the more accessible spots along the river, it is difficult to reconstruct the course of the road with any precision, and yet some tentative remarks should be made.

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[44] Several herds of over a thousand head of stock were brought over the trail before 1880. Most of these lost heavily, some well over one third of the total. According to one pioneer who later became an Arizona cowboy, the loss was in large part the result of ignorance as "none of them had the remotest idea of handling cattle or horses on the trail." See Coleman, "Biographical Sketch of William B. Maxwell," p. 4.

After reaching the river, the road evidently followed its sandy bottoms for two or three miles to Camp Utah, as the site of Haight's 1873 encampment was known, which because of its sheltering cottonwood trees became a primary resting place. About twenty-five miles beyond through sand that the mission of 1873 had deemed impassable to wagons was the first major landmark, Black Falls, where the river dropped over a lava outcropping to form a waterfall of about 125 feet in width and twelve or fifteen feet in depth. Unlike most of the country along the lower river course, the hills around Black Falls provided fairly good grazing, and from the first, herdsmen held stock there that were to weak to make it on to the settlements. About a half-day's trip up the river lay Powder Hill which became a nooning place between Black Falls and Grand Falls. In the neighborhood of Grand Falls which took its name from a spectacular drop in the river of about a hundred feet, grazing grounds were also found and around it were established a number of temporary camps for herders and travelers. Six miles beyond was Rocky Ford where most of the traffic crossed from the north to the south side of the river. Above this crossing, the road went past Roundy's Point to Canyon Diablo or San Francisco Wash, as it was called by the earliest emigrants, where it joined the Prescott mail road. From there it continued to the Mormon settlements, following the bend of the river up a broad valley, which because of its heavy cottonwood growth was reminiscent of the Platte Valley to a few widely traveled immigrants. Thence it went up the south side of the river to Horsehead Crossing or Holbrook where it split into three divisions. The old mail road proceeded up the Rio Puerco east by northeast into New Mexico while another trail crossing to the north side of the river worked its way along the cedar ridges to St. Johns and the other upcountry towns near the New Mexico border. The third branch was actually two separate roads--one crossing the Rio Puerco a mile or so east of Holbrook before turning south through Woodruff to Snowflake along the east side of Silver Creek, while the other, bearing abruptly south at Holbrook, went over the cedar hills on the west side of Silver Creek's canyon to Snowflake where the two joined to run on to Ft. Apache.

The lower portion of this road was by all odds the more difficult, and unlike the part that lay above Sunset it remained a trail through an uninhabited desert. Although heavy sands and lack of feed complicated its use, water was the major problem. Bad-tasting and dirty at best, it could be so filthy that when left overnight to settle only an inch or two was clear and that still had a white or milky appearance. As we have seen elsewhere, the river was also frequently dry. In such event, travelers were forced to dig for water or seek it in pools and tanks along the way. While water found by digging was often of better quality than the river water, it was both laboriously acquired and not without its hazards, as in the process of digging the unstable sands of the river bed were stirred, and thirsty stock rushing to drink often mired in quicksands which fortunately were not of sufficient depth to engulf them. Summer travel across this desert stretch could be a chancy thing indeed, and, while there is no record of loss of life due to water's lack, seasoned travelers undertook it with some apprehension, and well they might, as is apparent in the following account of a July trip in 1879:

> We found but little Grass and no water to speak of, occasionally there was a little in holes along the bed of the river but it was so salty that it could not be used. We dug near the mouth of some of the large washes that came in where we found some water that was a little better. The next day we found a little water at the San Francisco wash where we got enough to water our horses. At the crossing of the river we found a little in a hole but it was very salty. On the 30th we found enough at Grand Falls to fill a ten gallon Keg. At Black Falls we found a little but it was not fit to use as the fish had died in it and it smelt very bad, like carrion.[45]

Travel over the Mormon Wagon Road was nevertheless comparatively heavy. It was not only the avenue by which most Little Colorado colonists came to Arizona, but the lifeline by which they maintained themselves. During the early years, supply wagons lumbered the three hundred miles from southern Utah to supplement the meager production of Little Colorado farms. Over it came the livestock which served as a medium of exchange in the Mormon land purchases and as foundation herds. Over it, too, moved churchmen, polygamists, wedding entourages, and jaded missionaries returning to Zion. Some settlers made the trip numerous times. William J. Flake, for example, came and went between Utah and northern Arizona thirteen times, his wife Hannah nine times.[46] Although traffic diminished somewhat after convenient and reasonable rail connections with Salt Lake City were opened, the peculiarities of Mormon society led to its continued use until well into the twentieth century.

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[45] "Autobiography of Joseph Fish," p. 161.

Patterns and Experiences of the Trip

Having focused primarily upon the route to this point, we shall now shift our attention to the journey itself and certain patterns and experiences that characterized it. As we have observed, the migration to northern Arizona was rarely made in large, organized companies. The first parties that left Salt Lake City in February of 1876 departed in small groups as they got ready and with whatever company was convenient. Chance meetings sometimes resulted in as many as twenty-five outfits joining, and these split and regrouped as the fortunes of the road dictated. Little concern was manifest for maintaining any group identity other than that growing out of bonds of family and friendship. Lot Smith, who was with the vanguard of the 1876 migration, left word as he rolled on from Kanab that groups of ten wagons should travel on to Lee's Ferry and to the Little Colorado together.[47] Some effort may have been made to follow this directive, but the accounts of the southward trek that year and later leave the impression that people moved along the road pretty much at random. The usual traveling group was probably something less than the recommended ten wagons, and in many cases single teams or lone horsemen made the entire trek by themselves.

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[46] "Autobiography and Diary of Lucy Hannah White Flake," June 16, 1895.

The practice of moving in small parties was the result of two practical sets of circumstances. In the first place, conditions along the route both in settled Utah and in the deserts beyond Kanab were such that large companies were hard pressed to care for their stock. Migration strung out by two's and three's found feed and accommodations in Utah's villages and ranches where large trains could not have been cared for. From Kanab south, the problem remained basically the same but was no longer a matter of timing traffic to take the best advantage of wayside communities but of arranging migration to get the maximum usage of the limited natural supplies of feed and water. While each of the latter were items of real importance, water was the more critical, for the seeps and water holes which the road followed simply could not provide water for large groups. Even with the scattered migration, water needs were not always met, and dry marches or forced runs to bring water were frequent occurrences. Lee's Ferry, too, was a bottleneck through which traffic moved at a limited pace. Water, of course, was plentiful there but feed was in short supply and wagon trains as well as herds were under the necessity of crossing as soon as possible and finding feed farther on.

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[47] Deseret News, March 29, 1876.

The other basic reason for the abandonment of the characteristic Mormon emigrant caravan grew out of the complacency of the Indian frontier through which the migration moved. Simply stated, there was no defensive reason to join in large groups, and Mormons traveled through the region during the entire last quarter of the nineteenth century with no recorded loss of emigrant life due to Indian hostilities.[48]

Although the trip to the Little Colorado was always long, time spent on the road varied greatly according to the nature of the outfit making the trip and the season of the year. Official church parties with good animals and rigs sometimes made summer trips from the southern Utah communities in two weeks or less. However, emigrants burdened with belongings and extra livestock took far longer, particularly those who made the passage during the winter. The first groups of missionaries in both 1873 and 1876 were seven or eight weeks on the road. Thereafter, single-wagon outfits of few belongings made it from Kanab or Johnson or even Panguitch in four or five weeks. Others who brought several wagons and large numbers of stock came more slowly, often taking as much as three months. Even in the case of those who made good time, the course was marked by innumerable reverses and delays as outfits broke, animals gave out or slipped away during the night, or delays were necessitated at the ferry or at slow-filling water holes. Parties that started the trek together often split, with those that were able going on and those more plagued with hard luck falling back to be picked up by new groups or to labor on into the Little Colorado by themselves.[49]

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[48] As far as the writer has been able to discover, Lot Smith was the only Mormon who lost his life in the region and this was in 1892, a much later date. Frictions occasionally arose, but rarely, if ever, were they of such severity as to cause even the cautious Mormons to abandon their individualistic travel practices.

In spite of the vaunted Mormon communalism which was apparent enough in the call and in the objectives of the Arizona migration, the actual trek was usually marked by a good deal of individualism. As we have noted, travel organization was limited to locale and personal convenience with the basic road group being the family. Rather than moving in organized companies, the migration seemed to be a congeries of mutually interested atoms which, while frequently rendering assistance to one another, planned, prepared, and made the trip individually. Even those organized into companies by Brigham Young in 1876 who understood that they would join United Order communities along the lines of that organization appear not to have followed any consistent cooperative theme in planning what they took to Arizona or in the southward trek itself. The cooperation of the United Order began after--not before--the trip. The individualism of the migration was also apparent in the actions of a close-knit group of Saints who migrated together from Parowan late in 1878. While they had previously been joined in an order called the "United Order of 1876," they dissolved this relationship shortly before they departed from Utah with each managing his own affairs, including outfitting for the trip and the trip itself.[50]

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[49] Indicative of the frustrations and delays of the trail is the following list of difficulties gathered from the diary of a missionary who with the help of his family and occasionally others took three wagons and a small herd of loose stock from Kanab to the first Little Colorado settlements during the summer of 1876: between August 8 and 17 they looked for cows, were limited to a six miles day by rain, waited six hours for water, held up an additional hour by balking horses, looked for horses, attended a council meeting, lost entire string of horses one day out from the river, relayed wagons while other members looked for horses, broke wagon in a night drive, spent half-day in travel for tools and repair of wagon and finally spent two entire days finding remaining animals. To moderns used to convenient, undelayed progress in their travels, such interruptions would seem interminable, but the party made the drive in quick time, spending only three weeks on the road. See "Lorenzo Hill Hatch Journal," August 8 to 28, 1876, pp. 86-87.

At no point was individualism more apparent than in the mess practices. Rather than equipping a commissary or chuckwagon which carried trail supplies and did the cooking for an organized company, the ordinary procedure was for each family to carry and cook its own food. During the winter months, women with long flowing skirts and poorly made shoes kicked the snow back and, as half-frozen children warmed themselves and played underfoot, pulled heavy grub boxes out and cooked on open fires. The food served up on tin plates soon cooled in the near zero weather in which many of them traveled. It must have been a harrowing process--one that could have been materially eased by adapting the characteristic chuckwagon of the cow camp to their own trail or even the "long table" that some of them had seen in Orderville as they came south and that some of them would later use at Sunset and Allen's Camp. Laundry and other chores were also done within each family, with women standing in the cold and snow for long hours as they tried to maintain some semblance of cleanliness.[51]

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[50] The organization into groups of fifty was apparently more for administrative purposes once they arrived in Arizona than for purposes of the trail. About their mode of travel, an early historian wrote:

> "It may here properly be remarked that these missionaries to Arizona did not travel in companies the same as they subsequently settled on the Little Colorado but a few teams traveled together usually according to conveniences. Some wagons even traveled alone part of the way, but all had agreed to gather on the Little Colorado River in a big general encampment at a point near the place where St. Joseph now stands."

See "History of the Little Colorado Stake."

Some pioneers sought to prepare to meet the cold of their winter trip. A few fixed special facilities for their women and children. Evans Coleman, whose parents took him to Arizona as a child, wrote of the arrangements enjoyed by himself and his mother:

> My mother and I together with numerous house-hold goods occupied the trail wagon. It was quite comfortable. The bows were set out from the sides of the wagon bed proper; a heavy carpet was stretched over them and tacked down, then a wagon cover was stretched over the carpet, making a water and wind proof room, small wood

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[51] "Autobiography and Diary of Lucy Hannah White Flake," Vol. I.

> burning stove and a large lantern, looking glass, comb, towels, wash basin, etc., completed the inside makeup.[52]

Although the Coleman's was not the only such traveling home that took the road during the early years, there were not many of them. Far from entertaining themselves in the comforts of specially constructed vans, most women and children rolled about on top of household goods or walked to ease the burden upon overloaded animals or to warm themselves. Many women as well as older boys and girls teamstered, herded stock, and otherwise made themselves useful.

Sickness often attended the journey. During the migration of 1877, an epidemic of diptheria flared late in December as the emigrants who all used the same water holes approached Lee's Ferry. William J. Flake, whose own daughters "took diptheria" and "had it dredfull bad," came upon a standing wagon at the east foot of the Kaibab Plateau and, as his son Osmer recounts, found a woman:

> sitting on the seat with a dead babe on her knee. It had died as she drove the team down the mountain. Mother prepared the body for burial. Father got a few short boards from the wagons and made a box, the teamsters dug a hole, and we buried her darling in a lonely grave. It looked as though her life too, would go. Their outfit had gone on for water. We took their wagon with ours and went down the road.[53]

Although there were no doctors, midwives and other lay practitioners did provide minimal medical service. For example, a blind midwife named Abbie Thayne rendered yeoman service during the diptheria outbreak mentioned above and was remembered afterwards by grateful pioneers as Dr. Thayne, "a very fine physician."[54] The versatile John W. Young's gifts also extended to healing, as Wilford Woodruff who he nursed through a severe illness at Moencopi in the spring of 1879 had good cause to appreciate. In December of the same year, Young happened into the Little Colorado communities in time to ply his medical skills upon an aging immigrant. After diagnosing his eighty-two-year-old patient's ailment as "Lung Fever," Young "drew his water off with a Cattelan /?/ which was a great help to him."[55] The old-timer was evidently far gone and his relief was temporary, for three days later it was necessary to treat him again.

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[52] "Autobiographical Sketch," Coleman Papers, APHS.

[53] Flake, p. 51.

When such skills as Young and "Dr. Thayne" could boast were either unavailing or unavailable, the stricken traveler had recourse as elsewhere on the Mormon frontier to administration with blessed oil and prayer and often felt himself improved by the power of faith and the priesthood. Nevertheless, a goodly number paid with their lives the price of the exposure and exertion of the long trek.[56]

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[54] Ibid.

[55] "Wilford Woodruff's Journal," April 25-May 1879. For the "Lung Fever" episode, see December 20-23, 1879.

[56] Characteristic gratitude for divine protection is obvious in the following words from Lucy Hannah Flake's brief account of the Flake family's winter journey:

This was in substance the experience of the trek to the Little Colorado River. Marked by its length, its isolation, and its barren and drouth-stricken stretches, it constituted a trying trip indeed. It was also one with which many Little Coloradans became well acquainted. Some even developed a certain nostalgia as they contemplated its role in their lives. One remembered it as the "honeymoon trail." Another as "the fond old route known as the Lee's Ferry by way of Upper Kanab.[57] And in the waning years of the nineteenth century as the colony was stabilized, the entire community came to commemorate the trek, reliving it one day each year as they celebrated Old Folks Day in connection with July 24. Conscious of their past and of their bond with the mother community in Utah, Little Colorado Saints did not forget its miles.

> "We traveled very slow we had a very hard trip our two oldest daughters took the diptheria when we had been on the road about two weeks they had it dredfull bad and we never had seen a case of it before we did the best we could and the Lord hered our prairs and spared their lives."

See "Autobiography and Diary of Lucy Hannah White Flake," Vol. I.

[57] See "Joseph City Ward History," p. 27 and "Lorenzo Hill Hatch Journal," p. 181.

PART II

ECONOMICS AND RESOURCES

CHAPTER V

THE UNITED ORDER: AN AGENCY OF EXPANSION

Organizing for Expansion

One of the prominent features of church policy during the 1870's was the United Order movement. Based on Mormon communal tradition and the premise that the earth is God's and that man's possessory pretenses are tentative, it was an effort to find moral and social strength in a unity of objectives, property, and action. The acquisitive and self-seeking which had always been played down in church doctrine were further subordinated to the interest of the kingdom as church members dedicated their property and time to common goals.

It is generally considered that the movement's initiation in 1873-74 was in large part the result of the economic panic of the earlier year. The advent of the railroad and increasing dependence upon the national economy made Utah susceptible to the dislocations of the panic, the effects of which reached throughout Mormon society. One place, however, was scarcely touched. That place was Brigham City, Utah, where Lorenzo Snow had pioneered a cooperative system which enjoyed one of its most prosperous years in 1873. Prompted by these events, church leaders canvassed the territory, preaching the doctrines of union and cooperation. Soon Mormons the length and breadth of Utah were embracing the United Order in one or another of its various forms. In the south, people dedicated their property to the order and received in return wages and dividends commensurate to the quantity and quality of their investment of labor and property. Elsewhere, union was limited to cooperative activities. In some cases as at Utah's Brigham City, these were extensive and multifarious, employing and supporting most of the people of the community. In others, particularly in prosperous, heavily populated areas, wards and other subdivisions undertook single specialized cooperative enterprises. In each of the last mentioned forms, the order contemplated an expansion of communal activity but did not require a complete union of means and labor. As a rule, established communities where considerable wealth had been accummulated shied away from the consecration of property involved in the St. George or "Southern Plan of Order," and wealthy men rarely turned their entire resources over to communal management. By a similar token, it was only on the peripheries of the church, generally among impoverished isolated groups, that the most complete form of order was found. This was the so-called Family or Gospel plan, in which all property and time were consecrated to the group and the fruits shared equally without consideration to the amount of property invested or the amount or kind of labor contributed. While Orderville is acknowledged to have been the most successful of this type, the Little Colorado United Orders were in some particulars even more thoroughgoing in their unity, and in some cases survived as long as did the better known Utah experiment.

Unlike other American communal experiments, the United Order was not employed to lay the basic economic groundwork in Utah but was invoked after the economy was well developed. This retarded initiation is the more striking in view of the precedents set by the "Law of Consecration" which had been practiced by the Mormons for a time in Missouri. Students of the subject such as Hamilton Gardner and Edward J. Allen have regarded the failure to use a tighter kind of communalism during the early years in Utah as a reflection of the sureness of the church hierarchy's control.[1] According to this analysis, by 1873 Mormon laity was no longer as dependent upon the church or as completely under its domination as previously. As the autonomous Mormon kingdom was breached by the railroad and an expanding national economy, church leaders, as Allen points out, "became active in their advocacy of a new order which would again place the temporal affairs of the Mormon empire in their hands and thus enable them to present a united front to gentiles and to the Mormons who were becoming rich and powerful."[2] It is thus clear that the United Order came not merely in response to the Panic of 1873 but was developed as a measure calculated to bolster waning authority.

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[1] See Hamilton Gardner, "Economic Activities of the Mormons," unpublished typescript UU, pp. 263-64. Also see the concluding chapter of Edward J. Allen, The Second United Order Among the Mormons (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), pp. 118-28. For general accounts of the United Order in Utah, see the following: Ricks, pp. 105-114; Anderson, pp. 374-83; Andrew Karl Larsen, "I Was Called to Dixie," The Virgin River Basin: Unique Experiences in Mormon Pioneering (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1961), pp. 290-313; Leonard J. Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom (Cambridge, Mass.: 1958), pp. 323-49; Arrington, Orderville Utah: A Pioneer Mormon Experiment in Economic Organization (Monograph Series, Vol. II, No. 2; Logan: Utah State University Press, 1954); Thomas F. O'Dea, The Mormons (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), pp. 188-97.

This emphasis on the development of the United Order as a response to the expanding influence of the "world" is sound enough and may safely be carried farther. The 1870's were not only a time of change and challenge within but were also an era of renewed expansion. As Brigham Young looked outward, the threat raised by new forces and attitudes in Utah must have been sharpened by the realization that the anticipated expansion of the church would remove Mormons from the administrative and spiritual intimacy of their self-contained empire in Utah and expose them to the social and economic influence of the world. However, the need for renewed discipline was not just a matter of Babylon's threat on a new frontier. The fact that hostile natural elements had brought about the defeat of the first attempt to colonize the Little Colorado the summer before was still prominent in Mormon minds when the United Order movement was launched in the winter of 1873-74. Among the lessons to be drawn from the collapse of the mission of 1873 was the obvious need of better means of stirring devotion to the kingdom's objectives and of a new willingness to sacrifice personal interests and comforts for common goals.

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[2] Allen, p. 43.

While the new frontier required a firming of control, it also provided an environment where in the absence of previously established patterns the United Order could prosper and grow. Anticipating this possibility in 1873 as the first Little Colorado pioneers began their unsuccessful trip south, Orson Pratt had speculated that it might be necessary to "start a new settlement" to pioneer a new and selfless social order.[3] The prospects of such "An Errand in the Wilderness" making them the harbingers of a revolutionary social order as well as the colonists of a new frontier lighted the faith and imagination of Mormon missionaries when once again they turned south in 1876. In addition to the conviction that they were working out the details of a social form that would in time become churchwide, they conceived that the difference between Mormons and the general frontiersman would be made plain for the Indians to see by the love and unity of order life.

To reiterate: the United Order was more than a means of meeting the challenges raised by changing times in Utah; it was also hoped that it would provide the extraordinary discipline that would be required to expand the kingdom. To the first Little Colorado settlers, its possibilities and opportunities seemed almost unlimited, and for a time it supplied much of the idealism and faith on which colonization was borne.

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[3] Journal of Discourses, XVI, April 17, 1873 as quoted by Allen, p. 44.

The Lower Little Colorado: An Order Community

On the Little Colorado, the United Order villages were the first fruits of Mormon colonization. Brigham Young's instructions to the outgoing missionaries in January of 1876 included directions to set up in four order communities. Significantly, missionaries were routed through Orderville rather than the shorter Johnson Canyon way. Though road conditions may have been responsible, many of the emigrants were deeply stirred by their visit to the order town. Well-treated, they took a lively interest in it and gained some practical idea of what was expected of them in their new homes.

There were at least seven attempts to establish United Order villages in the Little Colorado community. In addition to the original four at Sunset, Brigham City, Obed, and St. Joseph, there were experiments at a fifth lower river town called Taylor as well as at Woodruff and Snowflake. By the end of 1878 each of the three newer orders along with the original one at Obed had succumbed to internal division and the physical problems of colonization. At St. Joseph, Sunset, and Brigham City, the orders were more durable, the latter surviving until 1881 and Sunset and St. Joseph until the mid-1880's.

From the first, the Little Colorado orders were characterized by great poverty. The men that constituted the original membership had little in the way of property and the handful of relatavely well-to-do settlers who came later chose to make their homes elsewhere in the mission. Not only were the members of the orders generally of limited means, but most of them were young men--many in their early twenties or even younger. Unlike the Orderville Saints who gathered from Nevada's Muddy region and other frontier outposts, the Little Colorado missionaries were in most instances not experienced in the poverty and hardship of pioneering in the southern deserts. However, they did locate according to their places of origin, and some affinity of background and interest was retained in this fashion. Furthermore, they came with a great deal of idealism and dedication and were willing to sacrifice individual interests to the general good or, more rightly put, a stable element that became the permanent nucleus of the new colony was willing to do so, others were not.

The Division of a Mission

Efforts to found orders at sites fartherup the river failed for a number of reasons. In the first place, the colonists themselves soon divided in their feelings, and most of the up-river settlers favored a more flexible sort of cooperation. This is not to imply that hostile camps of embattled "Enochites" and "Outsiders" existed, but a sharp divergence of opinion did develop about the meaning of the United Order which was translated into a geogrphic division of the mission.[4]

Lot Smith and other leaders of the original colonists took Brigham Young's instructions to establish the colony on a United Order basis to mean the more austere family type association to which members consecrated all their holdings and time. As incoming missionaries arrived, they found that the will of this element was being put into effect. As one expressed it, the mission was "all United Order . . . and no beating around the bush, for it is the intention to go into it to the full meaning of the term."[5] Something of the pattern of life that those who settled on the lower river had to accept may be seen in the words of another missionary of 1876 who wrote: "All who join us turn all they possess into the compact, and labor and share equally in the profits," and as a prudent afterthought to the above, he added "(if any)."[6]

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[4] That there were tensions between the "Enochites" and "Outsiders" in the church generally there can be no doubt. E. J. Allen flatly asserts that it "created two competing economic groups within the church and there was bad feeling between them." He also tells that an S. J. Nuttal of Kanab--likely L. John Nuttall, one-time president of the Kanab Stake and private secretary to John Taylor--informed President Young that there were four classes among the people of that town, "having at least as many different sets of views relating to the United Order." He asked what he should do and was told if they were all good Latter-day Saints he should set up "The Gospel Plan" /called the family plan in this study/, but if some were on the way to apostacy to deal more moderately in the hopes of keeping them in the church." Ibid., p. 110.

A contemporary view of the split in the Sevier Valley was that of Arthur Barney:

> "About this time thev started the United Order which made a division with the people that put them in two parties, the Enochites and the outsiders. So we were divided in two parts, the orderites would have their dances in one building, and the outsiders would have their dances in another hall. So we had some lively times. My fathers family all joined the order but me, and if I had of joined the order I dont know what we would have done for a living as father only got a little flour and some potatoes out of the order. He put in all his time in the order and got credit for his work, but credit wouldent buy clothing and groceries and things we had to have to keep soul and body together. But during the term of the order I was russeling to get money to live on, I peddled and freighted and done all kinds of work to make ends meet around the kitchen and to get clothes for the family. This is about where the order discontinued and desolves, and the board of directors got the whole caguadel /sic/ and the privates or working class came out stripped and nothing to go on."

See "Arthur Barney Journal, Leota, Utah, February 7, 1933," typescript BYU, p. 33. Written from memory. Copied and typed at Union, Oregon in 1961 by Herbert L. Barney, a son; original is in his possession.

The tendency of those who accepted the order in this spirit to regard it as a solemn and divine experiment contributed to a growing rift. Feeling that upon their success in living on "an equality with" their brethren and in putting "away self entirely" hinged much of the church's future, many regarded their situation to be a unique opportunity to develop a fuller, more meaningful United Order than that generally known.[7] Their determined efforts and intolerance of other viewpoints proved offensive to those of different inclination.

In the earliest years, these dedicated colonists were buoyed and sustained by Brigham Young. Writing in January of 1877, he forcefully called upon them to improve upon this rare moment in time and reminded them that they had been sent out with the express purposes of beginning and carrying on their labors of building and improving after the Order of Enoch. Noting that former experience had taught that it was "far better and easier to introduce the principles of the United Order at the beginning of new settlements, than to bring the people into them, after their individual interests were more firmly established," Young emphasized the peculiar and fleeting nature of their opportunity and admonished them to yield to no pressures in their efforts to rejuvenate the United Order movement.[8] Thus with a new Utopia waiting to issue forth from them, those upon whom the vision rested could ill countenance opposing views. "Nonjurors" left the lower Little Colorado under the impact of this feeling.

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[5] Letter of John A. Blythe to Deseret News, May 24, 1876.

[6] "Journal of Levi Mathers Savage," p. 25.

[7] Ibid.

Efforts to counter this outward movement deepened the fissure between the advocates and detractors of the order. In May of 1878, Lot Smith, by this time stake president, forced John Reidhead, who as a volunteer to the mission claimed the right to locate where he chose, from the stake high council because his example in moving "off 100 miles" was having a negative influence.[9] Later the same year, George Lake, bishop of northern Arizona's Brigham City, declared from the pulpit that anyone-who would oppose the order was apostatizing. He concluded that it made him feel bad to "see men dragging their families into the forest and around springs by themselves."[10] Another speaker of more liberal inclination admonished his brethren to "let anyone go to any settlement who might desire to do so;" but then clucked that he pitied "anyone who did not feel to comply with the will of the Lord."[11] While such administrative actions and protestations doubtlessly helped maintain the internal unity of the orders, they did little to bridge the gulf in opinion, and Silver Creek and other sites were settled in large measure by those who took exception to the order's mode of life.

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[8] Letter of Brigham Young to Lot Smith, George Lake, Jesse O. Ballinger, and William C. Allen (hereafter Lot Smith, et al.), January 10, 1877, Lot Smith Papers, UA. This point of view was also frequently expressed by local leaders. Characteristic were L. H. Hatch's remarks of May 24, 1878, that he had "seen no place where principles of the United Order could be carried out as in this land." See "Minutes of the Little Colorado Stake Conferences," Special Collection, UA, p. 76.

[9] Ibid., pp. 70-72.

Economic factors also contributed to the division of the mission. In an area where hardship promised to be chronic, the United Orders were determined to maintain the advantage that prior occupancy gave them. They broadened their claims and discouraged private locations so that those not willing to join or wanting to withdraw had to go elsewhere.

A number of external factors also combined to suggest physical separation as the solution to the tensions that grew between the two factions. The divisive effect of the church's official ambivalence in reference to the United Order after the passing of Brigham Young will be considered below, but here attention may be directed to a number of routine directives from church headquarters that tended to obscure the need to build up the orders and that made re-location seem a convenient escape. Almost from the first, local leaders were instructed to brook no contention or murmurings within their ranks. Indeed, after an early summer visit in 1876 from Daniel H. Wells of the First Presidency, they were directed to expell all complainers as a unity or righteousness was an absolute necessity. A short time after Wells' return to Utah, the following information was sent to the captains of companies on the Little Colorado over the signatures of Brigham Young and Wells:

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[10] Ibid., p. 115.

[11] Ibid., pp. 67-68.

> We are reliably informed that there are a few in some of the camps whose mouth are full of murmuring, and some whose hearts incline to apostasy. We want none such to remain with you, lest they poison the camp with the leaven of their ill-feeling. We desire that the settlements in the Little Colorado be built up to the Lord in righteousness, where in an example will be set to the surrounding tribes of the Lamanites, and indeed to all others of the day the Lord will build up Zion. The selfishness and individuality that have characterized the labors of some of our brethern should not find a place with those called to this mission.[12]

Permitting and even encouraging dissenters to leave their ranks, the order villages were commended from time to time on having rid themselves of those who "are not disposed to live in the United Order."[13] Moreover, since it was the church's policy "to extend continually and gradually" until all available places in Arizona were occupied, local leaders were at first encouraged to let missionaries move on.[14] Such policies along with other centrifugal tendencies soon reduced numbers on the lower Little Colorado below that considered to be consistent with the church's interest, and Brigham Young, shifting his ground, hammered on the physical as well as spiritual need for union as he called on Little Colorado leaders to halt the outward movement. He wrote: "That which gathers together, builds up, beautifies, strengthens unites and enobles is of God; and that which separates, destroys, scatters and tears in pieces is of the opposite power.[15]

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[12] July 14, 1876, Brigham Young Letter Book, CHO.

[13] See for example Erastus Snow's sermon of September, 1880, " Minutes of the Little Colorado Stake Conferences," pp. 179-80.

Perhaps the most important factor in the division of the mission was the compromised position in which church leaders found themselves in reference to the order's meaning. While he had not seen fit to consecrate his own property to an order, Brigham Young had thrown the full weight of his prestige and authority behind the movement. The product of his effort in Utah was varied in form, but in Arizona, as we have seen, it involved the most complete form of union. Certain of his subordinates including John Taylor, who succeeded him as president of the church, and Erastus Snow had been less than enthusiastic about the tendency of the orders to monopolize initiative, and with Young's passing their opinions began to make themselves felt. Yet they could ill afford to reputiate the former prophet's program as unsound. Consequently, they found themselves in the awkward position of sustaining the orders and even hoping that positive social advance might be salvaged from them but at the same time encouraging a cooperative program as being better calculated to achieve the church's ends.[16]

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[14] Letter of Brigham Young to Lot Smith, July 20, 1876, Brigham Young Letter Book, CHO.

[15] Letter of Brigham Young to Lot Smith, et al., January 10, 1877. The best efforts of Brigham Young and leaders on the Little Colorado notwithstanding, the history of the area continued to be one of division and departure until only a handful of the original settlers remained, and these finally abandoned the United Order for more conventional practices.

The practical result of this vacillating policy was the establishment of a second form of union in Arizona, thus following Utah's example of setting up the kind of association people would respond to. In fact, the system that developed was more a cooperative relationship than one of the United Order, and we shall consider it in that context; but during the time of transition, at least, church leaders were at some pains to refer to it as a form of union.

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[16] According to Feramorz Young Fox, Taylor was a wholehearted supporter of the cooperative program but was at best "only acquiescent about the United Order." See "Cooperation after the Death of Brigham Young," a chapter in his "A Study of Joseph Smith's Order of Stewardships, Cooperation, and Brigham Young's United Order," unpublished typescript, CHO. Fox's work also includes a copy of Lorenzo Snow's Scribbling Book letter which was written in 1877. In this Snow inveighs against the monopolizing tendency of even the moderate form of order followed at Brigham City. Ibid., pp. 5-7. Allen, pp. 70-71, quotes the anti-Mormon Salt Lake Tribune of May 9, 1874 relative to Erastus Snow's position on this question: "This doubting apostle takes Enoch quite reluctantly. He had to be labored with long and assiduously in St. George before he would take hold worth a cent. He came to terms finally." Referring to a quote of Angus Woodbury taken from a note on file in the St. George Temple, Allen comments: "Erastus Snow . . . went on to say that it [the Orderville association] was no better than a cooperative concern, that their system of giving an equal amount for unequal production was defective and that the United Order as practiced was not a commandment of God, but a financial experiment initiated by Brigham Young." Ibid., p. 144. Also see Angus Woodbury, "The United Order," a manuscript in the Utah State University Library.

The earliest indication that a formal change was developing grew out of the location of William J. Flake and other "nonjurors" on Silver Creek during the summer of 1878. Although Flake was censured by his fellows and the local authorities on the lower river, it was not long until certain of his former associates led by John Kartchner followed him to Silver Creek. Arranging to take over one-fourth of his purchase, they proceeded to organize an order. In September Erastus Snow, who had supported and commended Flake for his individual action, visited the new Silver Creek community and counseled Kartchner and his company to abandon the United Order and to join Flake at his settlement. Furthermore, the town of Woodruff abandoned the United Order shortly after Snow's visit. While it seems unlikely that he was the direct cause of this action, the trend of his policies and appointments was such that it probably contributed to it.[17]

Among the important measures initiated by Snow on this visit that signify a shift in the church's position was the division of the Little Colorado Stake. Coming hard on the heels of the controversy over Flake's break with the order, the division severed the order villages of the lower river from Silver Creek where, as we have seen, Snow had discouraged its proliferation. Of importance in this connection was the attitude of the man Snow nominated as stake president over the newly created Eastern Arizona Stake. This was Jesse N. Smith, who, though devoted to the church, was no particular friend of the United Order as it was practiced in Orderville and on the Little Colorado.[18] Having passed through both Orderville and the Little Colorado with Smith, Erastus Snow could scarcely have been oblivious to this fact. Smith's feelings about the family orders were reflected later in his response to the instructions relative to the United Order contained in his letter of appointment, part of which is included here:

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[17] In reference to Erastus Snow's tour through the country in the late summer of 1878, L. H. Hatch, who was presiding at Woodruff and had taken the initiative in setting up the order there, wrote: "We had been visited by President Erastus Snow during the fall and he set in order several of the places and gave much instruction on the United Order." See "Lorenzo Hill Hatch Journal," p. 103. This writer can only conclude from these remarks that Snow counseled a loose construction of the order, and that Woodruff, Snowflake, and other Silver Creek towns which pursued a course of looser union did so at his suggestion.

> We presume you are well aware that it is the desire of the Council of the Apostles that all the settlements, that have been and are now being formed in the southern country, should be organized and carried on as near as possible, in the United Order. In saying this we do not put so much stress upon the idea of all eating at one and the same table and like matters of lesser moment so much as on the desirability of effecting a union and consort in action and in labors as well as in faith and spirit. We desire to see these Settlements built up as near as possible, in consonince with the revelations that God has given on this subject; and to do so, we deem it necessary that the people who form these settlements should entertain feelings of mutual trust one towards another and that they should be united in all their temporal labors as settlements . . . for the manner of so doing and the details thereof, we refer you to Bro.

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[18] Journal of Jesse N. Smith, p. 221.

> Erastus Snow who is more intimately acquainted with the necessities of the country than are the rest of the brethren.[19]

These instructions seem plain enough. Smith, had he been of such a mind, was authorized to establish the United Order on Silver Creek and the upper Little Colorado, but he hesitated. He was apparently uneasy in his hesitation and sent the letter to Samuel H. Rogers, a friend in Parowan, inquiring how he would interpret it. Rogers minced no words but replied:

> The way that I understand President Taylor, at the onset I should have the sound of union and Order vibrated on the Peoples eares. like peals of Thunder bursting right upon their heads thereby if possible to have awakened the People to the importance of the principle and then, for the manner of so doing and the detales thereof we refer you to Brother Erastus Snow. who in all probability would then have acted in the premises, but for the want of this is most likely waiting. . . .[20]

The peals of Rogers' "Thunder" notwithstanding, Smith took no action to initiate the order; it is hard to avoid the conclusion that he was more intimately acquainted with Erastus Snow's mind or that he received subsequent and clarifying directions and thus made bold to give a loose interpretation to his instructions and break with the lower river pattern.

Thus, while it is somewhat speculative, there seems good reason to believe that the division of the church relative to the United Order was formalized by the division of the two stakes. Stern, unyielding Lot Smith was left standing at his post on the lower river. Others had left it, many because of differing opinions about the United Order. Administratively, the church could hardly afford to embarrass him; on the other hand, to make the entire area the preserve of Smith and his kind was to limit drastically the number of people who could be depended upon to develop the mission. Consequently, it is entirely probable that Snow recommended a division in part as a means of inhibiting the extension of factionalism.

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[19] "Journal of Samuel Holister Rogers," typescript BYU, p. 202. Original belonging to Sarah Rogers Decker of Snowflake, Arizona was borrowed by the BYU from Annabelle Flake Rogers of Provo, Utah.

[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 209-210.

Organization of the Little Colorado Orders

Almost immediately after arriving on the Little Colorado, the missionaries of 1876 had turned their provisions and property into de facto orders. The activities of that first summer appear to have been conducted on the basis of something approaching complete union. They worked together, ate together, and submitted to common direction. In the fall of the year when it became necessary for some to return to Utah, each of the companies met and gave permission for certain members to take temporary leave of the mission. In spite of this practical union, there was no formal organization set up during these early months. Indeed, it was only in the following spring when those who did return from Utah began to arrive that any action was taken to establish formal orders.

At that time, the St. Joseph or Allen's Camp group appointed a committee of three to draft "Articles of Association." After some discussion, their work was unanimously accepted on April 28, 1877. Thereafter, with periodic revision, these rules served as St. Joseph's instruments of government. By the end of 1877, steps were taken to bind all of the orders in a common union. At a conference held in December, Lot Smith "spoke of the necessity of adopting articles of agreement and bye-laws for all the camps on the Arizona Mission." With little or no discussion except the comment by one speaker that the action to bring all the camps under the "same laws, rules and agreement" was appropriate, they were unanimously accepted.[21]

The St. Joseph instruments of association fell into four parts. The first and most fundamental of these were the "Articles of Association" which set down in the briefest terms such things as the nature of the union, membership qualification, and the election, succession and duties of the company directors. A second and lesser instrument contained the "By Laws" in which timing and function of company meetings, appraisal of property, and disassociation from the order were defined. In addition, there were "Articles of Agreement" which corresponded in some particulars with the "Articles of Association," and finally the "Rules of the United Order" which were religious and moral in nature and identical to rules agreed to throughout Utah by order members.

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[21] Deseret News, December 5, 1877

These rules were general in nature and left much to be worked out in the daily functioning of the order. Elsewhere in the mission the articles of association were even more scanty and vague. This informality was a matter or concern to church leaders who were anxious to avoid the unfavorable publicity that noisy internal squabbles and lawsuits would attract to the church.[22]

Formally the St. Joseph order was organized with a board of directors constituting the chief managerial agency. This board consisted of a company president, two vice presidents, a secretary, and a treasurer. The president and the vice presidents were often but not invariably the bishopric of the ward. Another important agency to which at least one member of the directors (and often more) belonged was the board of appraisers upon which fell the obligation of evaluating property of incoming and departing members.[23] Of less importance but nevertheless belonging to the apparatus of leadership were the committees of trade which appear to have coordinated the external business dealings of the orders and cooperated with the board of trade that controlled the cooperative activities of the less communalistic society elsewhere in the mission. Also the St. Joseph order boasted a board of school trustees which handled its business in conjunction with the company meetings.

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[22] "Joseph City Ward History," pp. 11-14.

[23] In the case of Sunset, where if directors existed at all their position was only nominal, Lot Smith managed most company affairs. The responsibilities of appraising were placed upon the ward bishopric.

The activities of the orders were organized along functional lines. Departments were set up to care for draft animals, range stock, wagons, and equipment as well as such technical activities as carpentering, leather work, blacksmithing, and school teaching. Some degree of specialization was permitted by this arrangement, and skilled workers manned the saw mill, the tannery, and the mechanic shops. Men with particular abilities were often assigned the same duty each year, and occasionally unappealing jobs were permanently wished off along with a few words of praise onto offenseless and defenseless individuals who would have been happier with other assignments. However, the degree of specialization may be easily overestimated. Most of the order members were general farmers, and even the organization of the orders did not alter the fact. Some individuals were moved from assignment to assignment, first teaching school, then planting crops, and later tending dairy stock or keeping books. While variety may have been the spice of life, the general laborer who was moved from task to task at the whim of the community ofttimes envied the specialist whose job gave him a certain immunity from the constant interference of his peers in the orders. One St. Joseph member noted that "when he was away and had a job to do he would work with a zeal, but when he was dictated by everybody he felt a little rebellious."[24]

An interesting and possibly unique departure from the ordinary in departmentalization of work developed at St. Joseph. During the early years, the lower river settlements had lived in isolation except for the limited traffic that passed by way of the Prescott mail route. By 1880, however, the railroad was approaching. Fearing the society its construction would bring and recognizing the real economic need of their constituents, Mormon leaders admonished members to take grading and tie-cutting contracts. In response to this urging, order members joined in building the road and as a result enjoyed a brief moment of prosperity. Still pursuing the instructions of church leaders to keep "the vicious" out by pre-empting the work themselves, the St. Joseph order decided after construction work was completed to "take two sections on the Railroad to keep up" and on November 30, 1881 appointed M. P. Evans and Joseph C. Hansen as section bosses.[25]

Such record as is available indicates that during the early years, the directors or one of their number assumed the responsibility of managing the village farm. These were never large. Planting was limited to about 200 to 250 acres in small grains with possibly half that amount in corn and sorghum and even more restricted acreages in gardens and orchards. There is no record that alfalfa was grown, which may account for the rather quick exhaustion of the soil at Brigham City and Sunset.

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[24] "Minute Book of the Allen City United Order" (hereafter "Allen City Minutes"), BYU and CHO, p. 21. The original handwritten copy covers the United Order during the first ten years at St. Joseph, Arizona and is in the hands of George S. Tanner, Salt Lake City.

[25] Ibid., p. 16.

Confronted with a continuing struggle to control the river and spreading themselves to an increasing number of operations, order members often neglected farming. There was also a tendency to regard the farm as the obligation and interest only of the man charged with its management. William C. Allen of St. Joseph, who as a director managed the farm, complained that order members whose fortunes were as intimately related to its successful operation as his own would send word that the cows were in "his corn" but not bestir themselves to drive the stock off.[26]

This problem was aggravated by the fact that dairy and draft stock was herded in the hills adjacent to the villages. During the lifetime of the United Orders, there seems to have been no fencing, not even the familiar "ripgut" crisscross cedar-post fences of the area. Joseph Fish, who migrated to Arizona in 1879, recorded: "There was not a rod of fence in any place that I was aware of at that time."[27] Others complained that range cattle ran on the fields. As the 1880's progressed and northern Arizona became a great cattle country, the problem became increasingly acute. However, the fields of St. Joseph were not fenced until 1886, and then fencing came only after more personal interests had been acquired as "stewardships" were alotted to the various families, replacing the common holdings. As the only other surviving order was in a total disarray at Sunset, there is reason to believe that fences were never built there, although the Sunset order had some fenced pastures at their Mormon Lake holdings.

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[26] Personal interview of August 18, 1966 with George S. Tanner of Salt Lake City, formerly of St. Joseph, who heard this story from his parents and other village elders.

[27] "Autobiography of Joseph Fish," p. 158.

As noted previously, the failure of Brigham City and Sunset was laid in part at least to the rapid depletion of the soil. There can be no doubt that after an initial increase of production, yields fell rather quickly; however, in the light of the fact that some of the same acres have been farmed for years in modern times without undue exhaustion, we may safely assume that the problem was in some degree the result of the orders' failure to function successfully. The tendency to shirk farm responsibility and the lack of personal incentives, along with the aggressive thrust of the orders into other enterprises, were undoubtedly contributing factors. But it should be borne in mind that the de-emphasis of farming was not merely a matter of organizational breakdown, expansion into other enterprises, or even of soil depletion, but it was also a reflection of the cost of farming in terms of energy expended. The expense of water contol, which was always high on the Little Colorado, was almost prohibitively so on the lower river. Consequently, attention was turned increasingly to other enterprises until the cultivation of the village farms became a slipshod and uneconomic sideline.[28]

Life in the Orders

Life in the Arizona Orders was characterized by great physical closeness and by the number of domestic functions that were conducted on a communal basis. After the first months which were spent camped in wagon boxes, people lived in forts. Occupying apartments that comprised the fort's walls, they lived in such proximity to each other as almost to exclude privacy. At Brigham City and Sunset, the intimacy of their circumstances was made the greater by the practice of eating together. The dining halls which were the largest rooms in the communities became the focal point of life, being used for school and church purposes as well as eating. At Brigham City, the hall was twenty by eighty feet in dimensions, with the Sunset room being somewhat smaller. Along with adjoining kitchens, bake-houses, cellars, and storehouses, they comprised the commissary. Working under the direction of a "superintendent of the eating department," women whose children were tended by their sister wives or neighbors prepared the food while teen-age boys and girls waited table. Meals were served at regular intervals to families who as a general rule sat together.

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[28] Perhaps the surest evidence that farming on the lower river was haphazard and unsuccessful was the fact that with the exception of occasional years the order villages never produced enough grain stuffs to meet their requirements. During the earliest years, Utah subsidized them heavily. Later as the railroad's advent and successful livestock operations provided the orders with ready cash, it generally proved necessary to buy flour and grain in carload lots.

Lot Smith made the "long table" at Sunset something of an institution and many, if not most, incoming Arizona colonists had the experience of eating there. While most of them were impressed with the order and the discipline of Smith's company, they often commented on its strangeness and many did not care for it.[29] Smith presided over his table with a stern and parental authoritarianism and mealtime was often the occasion for impromptu sermons or lectures about morality or economy which were variously received by those who had to listen. Wilford Woodruff, who as a fugitive polygamist spent several months at Sunset, saw these circumstances in roseate hues (members would certainly have been on their best behavior with an apostle in their midst even though his visit ran on for some time). Of its advantages and popularity, he wrote:

> I conversed with several of the sisters, they preferred it to cooking at home, all fared alike, the president, priest and people. If any were sick they were nourished, if any man was called on a mission he had no anxiety about his family, knowing they would fare as well as the rest. If any died his family would have a support as long as they lived with the people, and I must say that I felt in spirit that these settlements in connection with Orderville were living in the

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[29] One man reported that he was "pleased to contemplate hundreds coming together at one table with less noise and confusion than he had seen in private families." See record of William C. McClellan's speech, "Minutes of the Little Colorado Stake Conferences," p. 72.

> United Order as near as any people could, in mortality, until a better way shall be revealed.[30]

Others, particularly women, found the loss of privacy connected with the "long table" to be trying, and more candid accounts than Woodruff's confess that they submitted, if at all, because they felt that it was a religious assignment.[31] As noted elsewhere, St. Joseph abandoned com-

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[30] Deseret News, June 18, 1879.

[31] A different point of view was reflected by A. C. Peterson, who as a boy lived with his widowed mother and small brothers and sisters in the Sunset order where they ate at the "long table." According to his account, there was a definite "pecking order" with Lot Smith and his family sitting at the head of the table and then the community's hierarchy in descending order with Widow Peterson and her brood near the foot of the table. Food was served to the head of the table first. Passed along, it was frequently well picked over. This was bad enough, but frictions with the other unfortunates at the table's end further aggravated the situation. Across from young Peterson sat a boy several years his senior who in the keen rivalry always took most of the butter patty provided for that quarter of the table by holding his knife at the ready and slicing quickly at it as grace was concluded. One day in a burst of resentment, Peterson reversed his knife and as the older boy grabbed the butter rapped his knuckles so forcefully that the latter cried out, attracting the attention of Lot Smith. Peterson was hailed before Smith, who banished him from the table for a week and lectured Widow Peterson on rearing children. No improvement in the mess conditions resulted. This information was related in a personal interview with Silas S. Fish, Phoenix, Arizona, who heard the story many years ago from Mr. Peterson. Recorded August 31, 1966.

Ranking much higher in the hierarchy than Mrs. Peterson, L. M. Savage as bishop of Sunset must have sat near the table's head. However, the following notations from his diary corroborated Peterson's point of view rather than Woodruff's:

> "July, 1877 . . . we all eat at the same table one fares as well as the other. We consider it the will of the Lord to live in this manner ---otherwise many would prefer living in the old style, for there is a great many trials connected with this style of living not known to the other."

That the problem was a continuing source of irritation was apparent when a year later he wrote: "One of the greatest trials, especially to the wommunal eating after a brief experiment. This came in part as a concession to impatient women. But even there, where family groups kept their own board, life in the fort was close, and children learning quickly that everything came from one source are said to have often eaten wherever mealtime overtook them.[32]

As at Orderville, dress was something of a problem. A woolen mill of sorts was set up at Sunset and some woolen materials were produced there. Some clothes, though probably not many, were imported ready-made and distributed according to need, but the wants of the settlers were never met in this fashion. Among the skilled workers at Sunset was a leatherworker-tailor who worked most of the time at his profession, but there is no evidence that he undertook to clothe the entire community. It seems more likely that the women of the individual households made most of the clothing used on the Little Colorado. Such diverse materials as their homespun wool, wagon tarps, Utah "factory" from the cotton mill at St. George, and cheap calicos are mentioned.[33]

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men in this style of living is the practice of our little settlement all dining on one large table." See "Journal of Levi Mathers Savage," pp. 25-26, 28.

[32] Personal interview with George S. Tanner, August 18, 1966, Salt Lake City, Utah.

[33] In a biographical sketch entitled "Youthful Memories of 'Tibby,'" which is likely autobiographic, Evans Coleman related the following of life in Orderville which is illuminating of the clothing practices in the family type orders:

> "Children all used to be dressed alike--boys and girls--till four or five years old--both sexes wore dresses. Well, it come time for me

From the first, the United Orders were sensitive to the needs of their children. As early as January of 1877, a school was established at Sunset and a man placed in charge of the few children" there.[34] Thereafter, earnest efforts were made to provide schooling, but as there were few suitable books and almost no facilities other than a room in the fort, school was at best a hit-and-miss affair. In addition to physical difficulties, other pressures always transcended the needs of the children and schoolmasters were changed to meet the varying needs of water development, farm work, or other pressing business. In the earliest

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to graduate into boys knee pants, so my mother made me a nice suit and got me new stockings and shoes. Of course she wanted to surprise me and all the rest of the family and waited till we were going one Sunday down to Robinsons. Then she dressed me all up in that new "trotting harness," all the time telling me how nice I looked, and what a "Little man you are," for I remember I wasn't taking kindly to that toggery, but she had me feeling pretty good about it by the time she was ready to show me off to everybody on the ranch who was right now ready to go down to Robinson's.

"Everybody was surprised alright, and it was beginning to kind of come to me that I and my outfit was attracting a lot of attention and favorable comment, and I was really ticked about myself generally, and my mother was so pleased and proud. But just at that moment Susie came on the scene with a pretty new apron on, and if there was any one piece of wearing apparel I really loved, it was a pretty apron. Of course Susie naturally had to show off her new apron and say something about it. Well, that spoiled everything. I looked at that pretty new apron, and then at my dress-up! I wanted out of that boy's outfit right now. I wanted a new apron, and a new apron I was going to have, and despite a good shaking from my mother, I wasn't going anywhere unless I was dressed as usual, and a new apron to boot. And I finally got it. That change of clothes style had to be worked onto me by easy stages."

Coleman Papers, APHS, pp. 6-7.

[34] "Journal of Levi Mathers Savage," p. 22.

days, schools were staffed in precisely the same fashion as other order functions with the master being assigned to the school and drawing on the community for his needs. Later, the order schools evidently came under territorial control. After 1880 it was necessary for teachers to qualify under the law and the orders likely received some financial aid. These arrangements cut down the autonomy of the communities but provided better and more stable services. Although in some instances they still managed to staff their schools from among their own numbers, thus escaping the necessity for a cash outlay, it was necessary in others for the United Order, since it controlled all finances, to provide "tuition" to cover the expense of non-order teachers who came in.[35]

Interestingly, concern for the young featured in the substitution of the "stewardship' plan of union for the family order at St. Joseph in 1883. This shift will be discussed in detail in a subsequent section, but remarks pertinent to its relation to child care may be made here. Although the writer has made some effort to discover extraordinary aspects in dealing with the young in the orders, he has been unable to find information that would indicate any marked irregularities. Indeed, early residents of the region are of the opinion that there was no significant difference between care of children in the United Orders and elsewhere. But in 1883, St. Joseph members were disturbed about child care and voiced their concern in the long debate that accompanied the adoption of the stewardship plan. In their eyes, parents did not have proper control of their children under the old system of union, and one of the justifying factors of the change was the hope that the new arrangement would permit parents to direct and "tutor" their own children.[36] The problem in this connection probably lay in the fact that children had little opportunity in the departmentalized order to work with their parents and learn from them in the process. It may have been significant that a goodly number of the St. Joseph order members had been young men at the time of the United Order's inception. During the early years, their concern with family discipline had been minimal, but by 1883, as their own families grew, the need to shift their primary allegiance from joint affairs to that of their family could have confronted them. Whatever the case, dissatisfaction with the effect of the old order upon child rearing contributed to its demise.

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[35] Sunset appears to have been more fortunate in attracting school teachers to its ranks. Savage had been a teacher and school superintendent in Kane County before coming to Arizona; his wife and others of the Sunset group also taught. St. Joseph frequently had to resort to teachers from other Mormon communities. The latter village appears to have organized a board of trustees and other school officials who took the responsibility of hiring teachers. Interestingly, however, the order company entered into such business as voting an extraordinary "vacation of school for a week." See "Allen City Minutes," pp. 7, 11.

Of Property and Labor

Over the years, certain other matters of concern also occupied the attention of order members. Important among these were questions arising out of the capital investments members made in the orders and the proceeds taken from them. With reference to capital investment, there was in the first instance only such chattel property as the colonists brought with them, as real estate was not a factor. The land they moved onto was unsurveyed and unimproved public domain, and at the time of their occupancy their claims seemed as valid as anyone's. Although they did not regard it as a crucial matter, they were cognizant of the land and anxious to secure their claims to it. The first reference relative to acquiring legal title came from the Woodruff order in 1878 where leaders rightly counseled concerned members to wait, as the land had not yet come on the market.[37] Another premature move to secure the land developed in St. Joseph in 1880. At that time, members were selected to go to Prescott to enter the land in behalf of the company. A suggestive commentary on human nature is apparent in the fact that company president Joseph H. Richards deemed it necessary to speak at some length "about having it understood that those selected to go and enter land should do it for the United Order of St. Joseph Company."[38] St. Joseph settlers, however, were not to acquire legal claim to their lands until many years after the passing of the United Orders.

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[36] Ibid., p. 19.

Returning to the subject of property contributions, we may note that at least two original Allen's Camp settlers record turning their entire provisions over to the company within a few weeks of their arrival.[39] These first members were expected to commit all of their possessions to the order which, though of varying amounts, qualified them to share in the association's product. As later members came, they were permitted to join on an equal footing with old members since no special obligation was expected of them in return for existing land claims and improvements.

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[37] See L. H. Hatch's speech, May 24, 1878, "Minutes of the Little Colorado Stake Conferences," p. 62.

[38] "Allen City Minutes," p. 11.

Unlike the situation in Orderville, there was never any problem of overextending the ranks of the Little Colorado orders. Usually the case was the reverse, with members appearing as supplicants as they sought recruits among subsequent migrations. The only requirements placed upon neophytes, which were after all heavy enough, were that they accept the lot of the United Order and its goals and that they give all they possessed in terms of property, time, and talents.

Avoiding the thornier issue of talents, we may further examine the matter of property. In almost all cases, capital investment consisted only of provisions, implements, such as wagons, plows and hand tools, and livestock, usually accounting for everything the colonists had with them except such private effects as were necessary in their homes. Of paramount practical import was the fact that capital input was as a rule of limited value. Fortunately, a list that reflects the relative investment of a number of the St. Joseph Order members is at hand. Although probably not correct in all particulars, it is nevertheless indicative of the limited means and varying amounts placed under the order's management by different colonists. Under date of December 31, 1881, John Bushman gives the following:

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[39] See George S. Tanner, "United Order," p. 4. Original manuscript in Tanner's possession.

Wm. C. Allen and Family	$1174.29
John Bushman and Family	1820.52
Henry W. Despain and Family	212.75
M. P. Evans and Family	308.80
Joseph C. Hansen and Family	618.74
Samuel G. Ladd, bachelor	271.95
John McLaws and family	512.30
Hans Nielsen and family	425.37
H. M. Peterson and family	28.50
Peter O. Petersen and family	369.90
Joseph H. Richards and family	1233.87
Henry M. Tanner and family	502.05
J. W. N. Scarlet	239.02
Moses B. Steel and family	286.40
James E. Shelley and family	363.65
James N. Walker and family	223.85
Herbert Robinson	406.35
	$9098.41 [40]

In some cases, order members appear to have had holdings in Utah, some of which were fairly liquid, that could have and (in keeping with their agreements) probably should have been committed to the orders. It is not known how extensive this practice was or that it created problems.

In addition to capital stock, communicants put their labor into the orders. At Sunset no attempt was made to place value on either quality or quantity of labor. Each member was expected to do "as much as he can reasonably perform of the work."[41] In reference to this situation, Levi Savage wrote on July 4, 1878: "Each performs his portion of labor if he be able; if not able then nothing is said about it." That this arrangement had its disadvantages cannot be doubted and that order members were not oblivious to them is apparent from his concluding comment that it was "truly a work of love and kindness."[42] In spite of festering discontent, there was apparently no formal deviation from this procedure at Sunset, although arbitrary and inequitable settlements based more upon inclination than on accounts were frequently made when members withdrew.

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[40] "The Life and Labors of John Bushman," rewritten from original diaries, typescript BYU, p. 70.

Although they, too, followed a practice of one pay rate for all adult males, St. Joseph's pioneers were alert to the problems implicit in this arrangement, and their occasional discussions of the matter revealed strong feeling that skilled labor ought to be paid accordingly. There was also some question as to when a boy should receive a man's wage. In the eyes of some, twenty-one years qualified the young man for a man's pay and, in spite of counter arguments that boys of eighteen were physically as strong, the majority agreed that lack of judgment limited the eighteen-year-old's worth.

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[41] "Journal of Levi Mathers Savage," p. 25.

[42] Ibid., p. 27.

Keeping complete books in which considerable effort was made to balance accounts, the St. Joseph order was also concerned about time-keeping. To begin with, time was evidently recorded by individual members but, as inaccuracy due to lapses of honesty and recording characterized this practice, it was concluded to make the "head of each Branch" responsible for the time worked in that department.[43] After 1883 when the family order at St. Joseph gave way to the stewardship plan, individual incentives became far more common, although certain functions were still carried on in union. Under the new plan, wage differentials took various forms as some leased livestock and made what profit they could. Some performed specialized tasks for which they were voted varying labor wages, and others tilled farms on the product of which values were placed fixing their income. Obviously, such practices constituted a great stride away from the previous arrangement.

Pursuance of individual interests was sharply curtailed during the early years. For a time devotion to duty and limited opportunity placed natural restriction upon such practices, but after the advent of the railroad in 1881 the problem intensified. In November of that year, the same month in which St. Joseph order members agreed to keep up two sections of railroad, the problem merited Lot Smith's attention, and he forcefully reminded the people of their rights in the United Order at a stake conference. The gist of his instruction was reduced to one restrictive sentence by the recorder. To wit: "He thought that no member had the right to start a little private fund amounting even to one dime for their individual benefit--no matter how obtained."[44] Twenty-five miles up the river, St. Joseph Saints had cause for concern at about the same time as certain of their numbers began "sending for things on their own account and selling them."[45] Most members feared the practice for what it might lead to and felt it was unfair to the company, but one brother (giving possible clues to the identity of who it was that entered into this private retail trade) "thought every individual had the privilege of taking advantage if they wished to."[46] Despite periodic concern with such outbreaks, the line seems to have held firm until the orders were reconstituted or far decayed.

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[43] "Allen City Minutes," p. 15. See also John Bushman's "Book of Appraisal," in which record of time spent on the St. Joseph farm for several years is kept. Original is in the hands of George S. Tanner, Salt Lake City.

Conjoint Enterprises: Union Between the Orders

Another important and possibly unique feature of the Little Colorado orders that should receive attention here were the common or, as they were termed, "conjoint" enterprises. These were owned, managed, and operated jointly by the different order villages. Although this practice was in complete accord with Mormon cooperative tradition, the combination of factors that permitted it to be tried on the Little Colorado likely did not exist elsewhere. Whereas Orderville and other communal villages in Utah were isolated from the time of their inception from others of their kind by a more individualistic Mormon society, the Little Colorado villages had been the earliest Arizona settlements and had been consciously located in such a fashion as to constitute a community. These circumstances offered a rare opportunity to elaborate and extend the self-contained bond of the order village to a broader multigroup unit.

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[44] "Minutes of the Little Colorado Stake Conferences," November 1881, p. 204.

[45] "Allen City Minutes," p. 15.

[46] Ibid.

From the first, it had been understood that the lower river villages would constitute a community. Church leaders, as we have seen, continually hammered on the need for unity. During Brigham Young's day this doubtlessly meant the United Order, but it meant more; it meant a mutual trust and unity of feeling and action between the various villages in achieving the objectives of the church. When centrifigual pressures threatened to sunder the community, Young had written: "We fully expect you toretain your organization intact; were this the fact the union of those four settlements would insure ample protection from all elements."[47]

He also took practical action to cement with common economic interest the bond that he was fostering between the Arizona villages. Out of these measures grew the conjoint enterprises. During the summer of 1876, a steam sawmill was turned over to the Arizona communities. On September 1, teams and men from the Little Colorado towns picked it up at Lee's Ferry and after crossing brought it on to Sunset from where it was taken into the mountains near Pleasant Valley (present-day Mormon Lake) and set up. Warren Tenney, William C. McClellan, and others were called to operate it, which they did with the help of unskilled labor from the various orders. For a few years thereafter, the mill was operated conjointly by, and in the interest of, the United Order towns. However, as markets did not develop for lumber and the need of the orders was limited, the mill was sold on March 1, 1881 to a Snowflake cooperative headed by William J. Flake for $4000.[48]

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[47] Letter to Lot Smith, et al., January 10, 1877.

A gristmill was also given to the Little Colorado orders. By May of 1878, it was functioning at a site near Brigham City. There the orders operated it conjointly for a number of years, but the failure of the lower river orders to grow and their poor agricultural success resulted in increasingly spasmodic use, and by 1884 it fell into total disuse. Two years later it was turned over to a Woodruff company and moved to that town but was never assembled.[49]

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[48] Although early statements lead one to believe that this mill as well as the gristmill were outright gifts to the Little Colorado orders, there is a note among Erastus Snow's papers to the effect that two-thirds interest in the mills had been turned over to the Arizona orders with the church retaining the other third interest. It seems interesting that the instrument defining this relationship is dated only a month or two previous to the bill of sale by which the sawmill was transferred to William J. Flake. Both notes are in the Erastus Snow Letter Box for 1881, CHO.

Official support of mutual enterprises did not cease with Brigham Young's death. In 1878 John Taylor took up his predecessor's theme of intervillage unity when he wrote the following to Lot Smith:

> We do desire that the people may work in concert and be united as settlements and that all enterprizes that are carried out should be carried out by settlements and not by individual effort or private corporation. For instance, if it be found desirable for all the saints in your charge to unite in any work of a public nature that one settlement of itself is not strong or rich enough to do, then we deem it advisable that the settlements should act in such matters as settlements, and be recognized in your books and accounts as such. We will cite as an instance, the building of roads, the establishment of dairies, factories, mills, and such like all of which will probably be effected by your stake."[50]

Practically, Taylor's letter was little more than an endorsement and word of approval, for most of the programs he recommended were already in effect in the Arizona orders.

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[49] See letter of Erastus Snow to John Taylor, written from Snowflake, Arizona, May 31, 1886, Erastus Snow Letter Box, CHO, which deals with this subject. Joseph Fish wrote under date of August 22, 1886 that there had been a "feeble effort" made to put the mill up at Woodruff. Nothing was done, however, and as the years passed:

> "the irons were taken for various purposes, and the lumber went a little at a time to repair fences, build bridges, etc., so that in a few years there was nothing left but the burrs and they were too heavy to carry off. All had vanished but these, and they lay for years on the bank of the river as silent monuments and witnesses of this grand failure."

See "Autobiography of Joseph Fish," p. 240.

[50] November 27, 1878, Lot Smith Papers, UA.

In addition to the mills, a dairy herd and possibly other livestock operations were going concerns under conjoint management by 1878. In July of 1876, Brigham Young had given Lot Smith and his colleagues consent to lease sheep on shares and take up land and water at Pleasant Valley and elsewhere in the mountains south and west of the Little Colorado community. Pleasant Valley soon became a major outpost for the orders and regular summer operations were conducted there. In November of 1878, L. John Nuttall found five families there. They had milked as many as 115 cows during the season and had produced 5,400 pounds of cheese and 442 pounds of butter. There were three good houses at the site as well as the various facilities connected with the dairy. According to Nuttall, Sunset and Brigham City held the place, but other sources indicate that St. Joseph may have been involved at this time, and it certainly was in 1879.[51] The dairy operation continued to grow, and by the early 1880's over two hundred head of cows were milked. Other livestock operations may also have been handled on the conjoint basis, but such reference as is available does not clearly establish this. Certainly each of the orders ran herds of stock that were independent of the others. Some passing references, however, imply that they also had conjoint interests in more general livestock programs at Pleasant Valley.[52]

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[51] Deseret News, December 4, 1878.

The dairy and other ranching operations, including a little dry-land farming, became increasingly important in the economy of the United Orders as the villages declined. With the passing of Brigham City in 1881, Erastus Snow bought its interest in the Pleasant Valley place for $500 and turned it over to Lot Smith on which to keep the Little Colorado Stake tithing herd.[53] Thereafter, the Sunset order made frequent overtures to St. Joseph to buy out its interest in the conjoint property. Finally, in 1884, after refusing to consider it seriously on earlier occasions, St. Joseph offered to sell its interest for $2000 or to buy out the Sunset interest for $4300.[54] Sunset took no step to act on this proposal, and St. Joseph continued in its conjoint business until the polygamy troubles of 1884-85 dislodged several key figures from both orders, and their staggering affairs became even more chaotic and disorganized. No record of the final disposition of these jointly held interests is at hand. Likely they were settled in connection with the Sunset investigation of 1886-87.

The experiment with conjoint ownership appears to have been as successful as any element of the United Order program. The relationship of the various villages was not marked by undue strife, and it did add an economic bond to the ideological commitments that held the orders together.

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[52] For example see "The Life and Labors of John Bushman," August 16, 1882.

[53] "Joseph City Ward History," p. 8.

[54] "Allen City Minutes," p. 33.

St. Joseph and Sunset: A Study in Personalities and Method

Although the Little Colorado orders hoped that the entire colonization of Arizona would follow the pattern they had set, the course of events left them as isolated or perhaps more so than their counterparts in Utah. Alone in their peculiarity, they found strength in the qualities and means they shared. But there were differences even within the orders as we have seen. We turn now to a consideration of variation in personnel and in method that made the experience at Sunset quite different from that at St. Joseph.

The St. Joseph order was a small one. After the initial shrinkage had reduced its population from about fifty families to fifteen or twenty, it remained surprisingly constant in the numbers and personnel of its membership in spite of the instability by which it was surrounded, as Obed, Old Taylor, and Brigham City collapsed. It was not, however, a closed group. Occasionally new members were added but few wanted to join. Some of its members did withdraw, particularly after 1881 when the course of events began to sap its morale. In some cases, however, those who had severed their relationship with the community returned disappointed with life on the outside and were readmitted.

Avoiding, as noted earlier, the communal eating that characterized Sunset and Brigham City, the St. Joseph order apparently had a concern for the individual which set it apart from the other orders. Leadership there never rested heavily upon any one man but was spread through the entire association with Joseph H. Richards, John Bushman, William C. Allen, Joseph Hansen, and Henry M. Tanner often taking the initiative.

Closely related to its concern for the individual was its determination to organize effectively and maintain running accounts of capital investment and labor input on the one hand and company disbursements on the other. Frequent settlements were made, and a just and honest picture of each member's relationship to the order was at hand. The difference between the position of the individual here, who in this system never disappeared from sight, and at Sunset, where the simplicity of having and receiving all things in common threatened to engulf him, was important and real. The latter system led to arbitrary and unjust actions as individual identity was forfeited to the commonality of the order. The emphasis upon the person in the former resulted in fair play and good feelings. While they were disappointed in the broader mission of pioneering a new social order, few of the order members at St. Joseph were keenly dissatisfied in their relations one with another.

At no point was the essential democracy of their approach more apparent than in the debates that accompanied the transition from the family type order which was characterized by joint ownership and labor to the stewardship plan in which the common property of the order was distributed to the various families whose individual management and labor was substituted for the joint effort of the older system. Pursuant to this reorganization, fourteen of the order's members met on November 7, 1882, and opened the discussion. They were a solemn and serious group of men and anxious to take full advantage of every resource as they considered their future. During the entire course of discussion which continued through eight meetings and two months, the initiative was taken by Joseph H. Richards, the ward bishop and company president. However, sixteen men, probably the entire male population, entered into the debate. The tenor of opinion favored change, but some feared that it would lead to disorder, and all were loath to take the step without careful consideration. At least one man, Samuel G. Ladd, the group's only bachelor, was opposed to the change, but other than expressing his satisfaction with the old system he said little. During one of the November meetings, resolutions stating proposed amendments were agreed upon. These were shown to Lot Smith and sent to Erastus Snow, neither of whom took a positive stand except to indicate that they would go along if the people of St. Joseph wanted change.[55]

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[55] Ibid., p. 26. The proposed amendments read as follows: "We the members of the United Order of St. Joseph resolve to make a change in our business affairs; and are willing to adopt the following subject to the Sanction and amendments of the Authorities of the church.
(1) That the board of directors apportion to the head of each family

On January 5, 1883, Snow's reply was read and full satisfaction was expressed with the new arrangement, but yet the brethren of St. Joseph hesitated. Finally, they adjourned their meeting, leaving the matter unresolved but agreeing to return to the task of decision-making the same evening, this time in company with the sisters of the order. Consequently, the men and women assembled at an evening meeting where the ladies of the town straightway cut the Gordian knot and a vote favoring change was taken.[56]

Although the St. Joseph association limped along for several years after the shift to stewardships, the trend seems to have been increasingly away from the United Order. For a time, a sinking fund of the surpluses over and above the stewardships, was held in reserve as

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a property as a stewardship, according to the requirements of their families.
(2) That we keep in reserve a fund to be drawn upon when necessary, subject to the board of directors and common council of the Order, and surplus to be added to it.
(3) That each family render an annual account of their stewardship.
(4) That we ballance the account of those that have left the Company who have not already been settled with and send them a statement of the same.

Above minutes read and approved.
(J. H. Richards Presiding
(J. C. Hanson
(J. Bushman J. McLaws Clerk"

Ibid., p. 23.

[56] John Bushman records the role of the women as follows: "Adjournment was taken to call all the women to come decide the motion of J. C. Hansen. After a discussion, pro and con, the motion of Hansen was put and carried." See "Life and Labors of John Bushman," p. 27.

a sort of insurance to help unfortunate members, but even this was shortly discontinued. Finally, in 1886 the order closed its books. Still showing their characteristic concern for detail, they settled accounts on the basis of the initial capital investment and the subsequent balance of labor valuation and withdrawals charged to the various members. As in earlier transactions, the final dissolution was handled with little friction and to the substantial satisfaction of all.[57]

We have learned a good deal about the Sunset United Order in the foregoing pages. Among other things, it has been obvious that its leadership rested largely on the person of Lot Smith and that in contrast to the little order at St. Joseph it was authoritarian in nature. Smith, who was president of the order and its business agent, was hardhanded and tactless in his administration. In his determination to make a success of the United Order as he conceived of it, he showed little concern for the rights and freedom of his associates. This was a continuing source of concern to church authorities. As early as April of 1878, John

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[57] John Bushman who had turned in $1756 drew out $2312 at this final settlement. Ibid., January 28, 1886. While they may refer to a different sort of settlement, the following statistics are interesting for what they reveal about the business of the order:

> "President J. H. Richards Stewardship . . . had increased in property from $1446.86 to $1479.00.
>
> J. C. Hansen was found to increase from $633.27 to $1138.23 increase $504.96 Received.
>
> H. M. Tanner increased from $716.90 to $1258.00. Received.
>
> H. W. Despain has a debt in Storehouse.
>
> J. McLaws increased from $748.29 to $906.70. Received."

See "Allen City Minutes," p. 37.

Taylor cautioned: "We wish liberty given to all, so far as righteousness will permit, that they may not have cause to complain of undue pressure . . . this law of heaven /the United Order/ has to be accepted freely."[58]

Discreet efforts to control Smith, notwithstanding, Sunset was a place of continuing troubles and complaints. Some of the grievances were directed at the aggressive quality of the order and its tendency to clutch everything to itself. One resident asserted in 1878 that "within five miles of Lot's Camp (Sunset) there are choice lands and facilities, with its grazing facilities and distant timber to sustain five thousand people and while it is held free to all who Join & remain with his company, is virtually monopolized by it, and all outsiders elbowed off."[59] While this estimate of the carrying capacity of the country is highly optimistic, the analysis as to the aggressiveness and exclusivism of the order is more sound. This may, however, have been more a matter of survival than one of undue monopolization. Economically, the life of all the Little Colorado United Orders was dependent upon an extensive use of surrounding resources rather than an intensive agricultural use of village grounds. While this situation may have agreed with Lot Smith's inclinations, to have ignored it would have made life even less rewarding.

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[58] Letter to Lot Smith, April 17, 1878, Lot Smith Papers, UA.

[59] Letter of Erastus Snow to John Taylor, December 19, 1878, Erastus Snow Letter Box, CHO.

In any event, ranching was pursued and Lot Smith followed it with both vigor and ability. His love of fine livestock was proverbial, and his success as a stockman was amply attested by the thriving herds that the Sunset Order built up. Over the years, he developed a superior strain of horses that in horse-conscious northern Arizona won him an enviable reputation as is indicated by the following from the pen of Earle Forrest, a student of Arizona's range wars who himself worked livestock in the Mormon Lake country near the turn of the century:

> He had very fast horses. I understand that he imported some blooded stallions from Kentucky and crossed them with the range mares. His brand was Circle S (the S inclosed by a circle). Babbits bought the brand when Smith was killed about 1892. . . . Babbits only caught enough of those Circle S. horses for their own use with the outfit. The rest ran wild on the old Circle S. Range. During several years when I was with the D O Bar outfit a few cowboys formed a partnership with Fred Volz, Indian trader at Canyon Diablo, and went into the horse business. They captured many horses by driving them into blind corrals and by roping them, and shipped them East. There were no better horses ever in Arizona than those Circle S. According to well authenticated stories Lot Smith would ride one of those horses from Mormon Dairy to Fort Moroni in one day and then go on to Tuba City the next.[60]

Smith's love for livestock nearly came between him and the church. John Bushman, who headed a committee that finally settled the

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[60] Letter to the writer, February 6, 1966. Babbits still run a big cattle outfit in the area of which Mr. Forrest writes. Some idea of the stamina of the Circle S horses may be gained from the fact that by present auto routes it is thirty miles from Mormon Dairy to Flagstaff which lies near old Fort Moroni, and seventy-five miles from Flagstaff to Tuba City. Horse trails might conceivably cut ten or fifteen miles from the entire distance, but riding to Fort Moroni, which was located eight miles west of Flagstaff, would likely pick up the miles saved by shortcuts.

Sunset order affairs, found him basically willing to cooperate in the adjustment but hotheaded and prone to anger because he thought so "much of the beautiful stock that he could not bear to see them branded and drove away."[61]

On the other hand, Smith had little love of bookkeeping, and the accounts of the Sunset order were of the most rudimentary nature. One possible effect of this was anticipated by John Taylor when he wrote urging that adequate books be set up because "the present system will encourage people to leave with only what they put in--not what has accrued."[62] It is possible that Smith hoped the slipshod bookkeeping would have precisely the effect Taylor feared. Whatever the motives, many of those who severed their relationship with the order found much cause for suspicion in the arbitrary and estimated settlements that were the necessary product of the order's informality. References to complaints were frequent and quite a number of letters detailing the problem have survived. Usually the charges were the same--settlements were made without aid of accounts, and the withdrawing member felt that he had received no interest on his investment or credit for any labor above family receipts during his sojourn in the order.[63]

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[61] "The Life and Labors of John Bushman," p. 117.

[62] Letter to Lot Smith, November 27, 1878, Lot Smith Papers, UA.

[63] On December 19, 1878, Erastus Snow forwarded a letter about conditions at Sunset to John Taylor and briefed the problem as follows:

Another problem arose from the fact that Smith insisted on plowing dividends back into the company. Of a Spartan character and devoted to the livestock business, he refused to lay out expenditures on things that many of his subordinates considered to be absolutely essential. One indictment of his policy from 1881 read:

> Living is unnecessarily poor & niggardly-- Our houses very uncomfortable with little or no hopes for better--as every energy is bent in gathering around us large herds of horses and cattle but if a Sister wants a little Thread Sheeting Buttons & etc to use in her Family She is told there is none or if She gets it, it comes frequently with a lecture on economy. . . ."[64]

Some efforts at reform were made. Usually, however, dissenters were told that they could leave if they found "Our Style of doing things" objectionable."[65] Most did. But on one occasion, an obdurate and articulate group which advocated taking stock each year refused either to be silenced or driven from the order by Smith's tactics. Finally, as their

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> "Those who leave are not allowed anything for the use of their property and means while with them, nor for labour, however, faithfully performed, except what they eat, and if their stock, teams or other property is used up in the company or damaged, they loose it, but if their labour helps to make improvement or their stock increases, such improvements or increase accrues to the company--and when parties become dissatisfied, They must take what is left of their effects and go to some other part of the country because . . . these companies wish to monopolize all around them whether they need or can use it or not--"

Erastus Snow Letter Box, CHO.

[64] Letter of William C. McClellan to Erastus Snow, May 1881, Erastus Snow Letter Box, CHO.

[65] Ibid.

continuing agitation for reform became more annoying, Smith employed his authority as stake president and silenced them by calling two of the leaders on an Indian mission to Savoia, New Mexico.[66]

The question of Sunset's administration finally broke in the summer of 1886. By this time most, if not all, of its members had withdrawn from the order and gone elsewhere. Smith himself, along with Erastus Snow and several other apostles, had fled to Mexico due to polygamy prosecutions. On July 12, Apostles Snow, Brigham Young, Jr., and George Teasdale conducted a preliminary hearing on the Sunset case. Finding, among other things, that books were almost nonexistent, that an accounting had never been taken, that irregularities had characterized withdrawals, and that a group of four "clung together, as a company with Bro. Smith and received considerable more property than they were equitable entitled to," the apostles recommended that a full-scale investigation be made.[67] They then appointed a committee of which Lot Smith was to be president to carry out this study, but substituted David K. Udall of St. Johns when Smith asked to be excused from serving.

The committee began work almost immediately. What books the Sunset company had were consulted, and during August a subcommittee headed by John Bushman of St. Joseph began appraising property at Sunset and at the Mormon Lake ranch. The investigation drew on for over a year during which time a very thorough study of the affair was made. Livestock still held by Lot Smith and bearing the order brand was inventoried and had values placed upon it. John Bushman, whose diary is the only source available but which is not without its biases and inaccuracies, states that 1012 head of cattle were tallied and valued at $20 per head totaling $20,240. It was also found that there were 2400 sheep still on the ranch which were said to be worth $2.00 apiece or a total of $4800. Finally 175 horses valued at $50 a head were turned over to Lot Smith as part of his settlement but may not have represented the entire horse herd. These were worth $8750. Thus, according to Bushman's account, the total value of livestock came to $33,690.[68] In addition to this inventory, the committee took statements and gathered private accounts from as many of the former members as could be found. Using this information, which included data about what had been put into the order and what had been taken out at time of severance as well as reminiscences about the activities of members while in the order, the committee undertook to construct a fiscal history from which they settled the accounts of the various members.[69]

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[66] See Erastus Snow's "Statement of Proceedings at the Preliminary Sunset Hearing" dated July 12, 1886, La Ascension, Mexico, Erastus Snow Letter Box, 1886, CHO.

[67] Ibid.

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[68] These figures are gleaned from various places in "Life and Labors of John Bushman," see pp. 108-119.

[69] Interestingly it was found that in spite of the complaints about unjust settlements, no member of the Sunset order had drawn out less

Lot Smith and a few others came out with less than they had held previously. Many members of the order, perhaps most, gained substantially from the settlement. Smith frequently accused the committee of inequities and error during the course of the investigation and, while there is undoubtedly much to be said in his behalf, there is no question that had he been left to go his course unimpeded, his financial position in relation to those who worked with him would have been greatly enhanced.

In terms of the success of the Mormon colonization of the Little Colorado, the failure of the United Order to establish a practical situation that corresponded even roughly to the idealistic hopes church members placed in it was a heavy blow. It may justly be asked why church leaders who were not oblivious to the friction at Sunset or to its widespread negative effects on morale permitted it to persist. Any answer will of necessity be speculative, but some thoughts relative to the subject may nevertheless be advanced. In the first place, the role that Lot Smith and the lower Little Colorado villages played in the Arizona mission

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property than he had put into it. Relative to the task of reconstruction, Bushman says:

> ". . . found from all the information obtainable that all the members of the Sunset United Order had drawed out more property than they put into the Order. They /the committee/ recconed on the amount of work each one had done and the grade of work and gave each one credit for the same, and from this determined the amount due to each one that belonged to the company. . . . They instructed the secretary to make out statement of each man's account which was a great labor as their accounts were scattered through 10 years labor."

Ibid., pp. 113-14.

was by no means as negative as the Sunset settlement made them appear. Positive contributions offset the failures. In addition, close and meaningful personal relations between Lot Smith and numerous general officers of the church undoubtedly led to reluctance on the part of church leaders to initiate action. However, the most important factor would appear to have been related to the fact that Lot Smith was willing to stay on the Little Colorado and fight for a vital interest of the church. Considering the high incidence of departure from the mission and the struggle required to colonize the area, the alternatives to the situation at Sunset seemed less attractive than the situation itself. To have removed Smith would have weakened an enterprise that was never too viable. Instead, as was suggested earlier in the chapter, the church made administrative changes which isolated the United Order and Lot Smith with it and hoped by this means to salvage as much from the idealistic commitment to the United Order and from the personalities in it as possible.[70]

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[70] During the years after 1887 when the Sunset order settlement was finished, Smith's Circle S Ranch interests sprawled from Mormon Lake and Fort Moroni on the south and west to Tuba City on the north. His tenacity and toughness were again demonstrated by his ability to hang on in a country that by this time was the preserve of the mammoth Aztec Land and Cattle Company. His final home was at Upper Pasture Canyon or Reservoir Canyon several miles east of Tuba City. Here, near the flowing springs which Mormons had dammed to run a woolen mill and for irrigation purposes, he built a home as well as owned a colorful stone house in old Moencopi made of red and gray stone. In 1892 he had an altercation with the Navajos whose sheep often ran on his meadow below the Mormon reservoir. Finally, he shot several head of the sheep and was shortly shot himself by Navajos hiding on the gray canyon wall that lines the upper end of the meadow on the east. He rode two or three

From the foregoing pages, it is apparent that the Little Colorado United Order began to deteriorate almost before it was formed. In view of the ambivalence of church policy and the ideologic and personal conflicts that characterized its course, the wonder is not that the United Order collapsed in the mid-'80's but that it did not fold completely at a far earlier time. Although both the scattering of its leaders by the polygamy scare and the Sunset investigation may have hastened its final demise, the collapse was nearly complete before they struck. Likely the order had merely outlived its usefulness. The reader will recall that early in this chapter the United Order was considered as an agency of extraordinary control to facilitate the Mormon expansion beyond territorial boundaries. With the progress of colonization, this special need

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miles home though mortally wounded and died within a few hours. At his own request, he was buried near the Upper Pasture Canyon house but was not permitted to rest. Sentimental old-timers among Little Colorado's officialdom soon became exercised that their comrade in arms was burried in this lonely canyon. Particularly trying in their eyes was the fact that during the part of the year that the reservoir which was about a mile and a half down canyon was full, the water table rose inundating the old warrior's body. Finally, after considerable talk, David Brinkerhoff, bishop of Tuba City, was directed to exhume the body and ship it north. Pursuant to these instructions, the bishop made preparations to send the body with a son who was going on a mission. At the disinterment, interested spectators gathered and one eyewitness account related that water actually poured from the casket, washing whiskers from his long red beard with it. After a period of dehydration in a sand bank, he was duly shipped to Farmington where he was finally permitted to rest. For the detail relative to his death and subsequent events, I am indebted to Mrs. Lois Heward Gardner of Woodruff, who lived at Moenave at the time of Smith's death. Personal interview with Mrs. Lois Gardner, Woodruff, Arizona, August 28, 1966.

passed and more ordinary agencies replaced it. Also the idealism of the church had undergone changes by 1886, and the "Errand in the Wilderness" concept had overlived its meaning. Little Colorado communicants were tardily forced to acknowledge that their quest for a new way of life had failed and that part of its failure lay in the fact that the body of Mormondom had very little interest in the quest.

CHAPTER VI

UNION OR DISCORD: CASE STUDIES IN ECONOMIC COMMUNALISM

Little Colorado Communalism: A Labored Product

Whether they rejected the United Order during the early years of settlement or later as the order villages collapsed, Mormons of the Little Colorado continued to follow communal programs that were initiated and coordinated by the church. Falling short of the thorough union required by the orders, such practices nevertheless extended to most aspects of life. Towns were founded where the Saints could live in close proximity. Self or local employment was encouraged, and occupations that took members from the Mormon community were frowned upon. Emergencies were met by common planning and effort. Centrifugal tendencies were condemned alike by popular opinion and official council. And perhaps most important, religious and economic programs were launched and conducted on the basis of what was essentially voluntary and cooperative action.

Yet Little Colorado cooperation was a labored product. Church policy and teaching notwithstanding, Mormons there never successfully put aside the countering tendencies of personal interest. Their failure to unite appears to have been particularly marked in those activities that impinged most directly upon the general economy. At no point was unity of feeling and action more vital--nor more difficult to achieve.

Mormons who labored joyously together on missions or sweat in desperate accord to control the Little Colorado were never more conscious of the peculiarity of their individual interests or of conflicting loyalties than they were in "money matters." This is not to say that an excess of individualism existed. Indeed, individualism struck only muted tones, but its persistence, along with the prolonged but benevolent determination to repair the holes it occasioned in the communal fabric, affords an unusual opportunity to study the problem of an ideologic voluntarism as a means of social motivation. By no means immune to the forces of individualism themselves, church leaders found it necessary to let the commitments and loyalties of the personnel involved join in shaping communal programs. Thus challenged and limited by personal interests, a restricted cooperation emerged which was consistent with the nature and circumstances of the community. The difficulties encountered in balancing the need for collective action and individual interests were etched with particular sharpness in two developments: the construction of the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad across Arizona and the establishment of a cooperative mercantile institution.

The Board of Trade and Regulation of Railroad Construction

On the Little Colorado as elsewhere in the church during the years following Brigham Young's death in 1877, the United Order was progressively supplanted as the primary agency of communal economic action in the church by the board of trade movement. Hoping to gain the advantages of collective bargaining in the realms of production, merchandising, and labor management, a church-wide system was established with Zion's Central Board of Trade at the top and committees throughout the stakes and wards.[1] In addition to its regular structure which followed the lines of church organization, the board of trade movement also included certain ad hoc committees set up to deal with particular problems. One of the most important of these was the board established in 1880 to control and regulate Mormon labor and contracting on the Denver Rio Grande and Western and Atlantic and Pacific railways that were then building through southeastern Utah and northern New Mexico and Arizona. Manned by prominent colonizers, this effort to provide effective leadership foundered on a division between its members and resulted in contention and exploitation rather than in the benefits of collective action. Although the jurisdiction of this board extended to the construction of both the Denver Rio Grande and Western and the Atlantic and Pacific, our narrative is primarily concerned with the latter.

Commissioned by Congress in 1866, the Atlantic and Pacific road did not begin laying track over the 35th parallel route through New

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[1] For information on the board of trade movement, see Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, pp. 341-349.

Mexico until the spring of 1880.[2] During the next eighteen months, the line was pushed 565 miles from Isleta, New Mexico, to the Colorado River, passing through the Mormon colony on the Little Colorado River in the process.

Mormon reaction to the railroad's coming was ambivalent. Having settled the Little Colorado in some degree because a railroad was scheduled to be built along its course and not totally devoid of the characteristic promotional impulses of the frontier, they welcomed its coming. However, its challenge to the isolation of their position stirred profound feelings of unrest. Misgivings growing from these apprehensions were widely voiced in church meetings where a variety of solutions were suggested, most of which echoed the themes of Mormon self-sufficiency through home manufactury and a self-contained marketing system.[3] As in the more general surges of Mormon self-sufficiency, the need for autonomy was felt to be doubly urgent because the impending destruction of the forces of evil would shortly render Mormon economic independence a necessity. To such cries were added admonitions to erect barriers against the influx of unwholesome populations by preempting the labor of construction. However, the plans to monopolize the building of the track reflected deep feelings of relief as well.

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[2] See U.S., Congressional Globe, 39th Cong., 1st Sess., 1101-1102, 4182, and U.S., Statutes at Large, XIV, 292, for congressional provisions for the 35th parallel route. The only accounts of the Atlantic and Pacific Railway with which this writer is acquainted are very brief and totally inadequate. While L. L. Waters, Steel Trails to Santa Fe (Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas, 1950) is poor, other general histories of the Santa Fe Railroad are even worse. Sanford Mosk, Land Tenure Problems in the Santa Fe Railroad Grant Area (Berkley: University of California Press, 1944) and William S. Greever, Arid Domain: The Santa Fe Railway and Its Western Land Grant (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1954) are both short and limited in their scope, but they improve upon the general treatments as far as the early history of the line is concerned. The writer depended upon the latter, especially pp. 10-35.

Indeed, some regarded the opportunity for work on the railroad as a godsend, for the winter of 1879-80 had been one of extreme shortage and by early summer colonists were forced to dig for roots and eat greens to sustain themselves. Despite the relatively good crops of the previous summer, perceptive members of the community had sensed that famine was impending as early as December and made what provisions they could to cope with it. Their efforts, however, were frustrated by a variety of factors and the situation soon became critical. In the first place, the migration of that winter was unusually heavy. Apprised of the good harvests, many of the new immigrants brought nonedibles.[4] In addition, all surplus cattle had been applied to the St. Johns land purchase, thus limiting the most ready item of barter in the money-short community. Moreover, an extended drought in southern Utah closed this traditional source of relief, and, as a final blow, the winter of 1879-80 surpassed all precedent for severity. Livestock perished, and humans, many of them still camped in wagons or makeshift huts, suffered intensely from long periods of cold and snow.[5]

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[3] See "Minutes of Eastern Arizona Stake Conferences, 1879-82," p. 97. Although much was said in reference to home manufactory, very little was done about it. Neither the interest of the church nor the circumstances on the Little Colorado lent themselves to a strong impulse in this direction. Consequently, with one or two exceptions, notably the gristmills which did operate successfully, nothing was done.

[4] Confusion about the availability of foodstuff on the Little Colorado was the product of the scanty understanding of Arizona's geography possessed by the average Utah emigrant and the fact that frequent re-

Contracting I: Frontier Relief Measure

Into this situation stepped John W. Young bringing with him a plan for relief and the makings of discord and communal breakdown. An enigmatic and controversial figure who rarely did what his more conventional brethren wanted him to, this son of Brigham Young had early

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ports were being received that colonists need not bring food to southern Arizona where it was plentiful. In an effort to dispel such misunderstandings, L. John Nuttall, personal secretary to President John Taylor, wrote on March 17, 1880:

> "All persons who contemplate moving to the settlements on the Little Colorado river and its tributaries . . . should take along with them sufficient flour and other supplies to sustain them until crops can be raised. The grain raised in those new settlements during the past year is becoming scarce, in consequence of so many going to that country last fall and this winter, and depending on the settlers for their bread. Flour cannot be procured for anything but money, and must be hauled from 250 to 350 miles."

Deseret News, April 7, 1880.

[5] At a stake conference in June, a survey of grain supplies revealed that the Eastern Arizona Stake members lacked 10,000 pounds of having enough to feed themselves through to harvest. See "Minutes of Eastern Arizona Stake Conferences, 1879-82," p. 109.

seen opportunity on Arizona's frontiers.[6] Sensing the limitations of Mormondom's self-imposed agrarianism, he sought to go beyond it to take control of the economic and industrial development in northern Arizona but was frustrated in his efforts as much as by his failure to win other Mormons to his unorthodox approach as he was from the outside by hostility toward the church, business competition, and chronic lack of capital. While Young's loyalty to the church may be exaggerated, an examination of his activities in Arizona and in the East during the 1880's reveals something more than a selfish appetite for wealth. He understood better than anyone else connected with the Little Colorado colony the power inherent in the economic promotion of the late nineteenth century and apparently hoped by coming to terms with it to exploit it in behalf of the Mormon cause. Other prominent Mormons including those on the Little Colorado recoiled from his seeming reconciliation with Babylon and continued to seek the basis of their economic and political strategy in the isolation of a narrowly construed frontier agricultural kingdom. In their company, John W. Young was indeed an enigma, one whose imagination and skill were occasionally sought but who was never understood or condoned. The conflict of forces in his person as well as between him and other leading figures on the Little Colorado was symptomatic and symbolic of the sharp edge of individualism that cut through the very backbone of economic cooperation in the northern Arizona colony.

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[6] Setting a precedent that was followed by the less fortunate son of Apostle George A. Smith who was killed by the Navajos on a similar junket two years later, he had accompanied Jacob Hamblin south to Arizona on that worthy's first visit to the Hopis in 1858. From that time forward, he entertained a special interest in northern Arizona, engaging at various times in the wool trade, railroading, livestock, and land speculations.

Arriving at Moencopi early in 1879, Young had established a woolen business that included a factory of some two hundred spindles and a commercial house through which he hoped to corner the growing wool trade of the Navajos. First as counselor to his father and later as a roving ambassador without portfolio styled "Councilor to the Apostles," he had shared the top-level leadership of the Arizona Mission with Wilford Woodruff and Erastus Snow. When the news of the Atlantic and Pacific construction broke in the spring of 1880, he was visiting the towns of northern Arizona, preaching the necessity of cooperative mercantile stores--drumming up interest in a movement which, we may be sure, was not unrelated to his own plans to exploit the country's obvious potential for wool trade.

On hearing that construction was to be resumed, Young shifted his attention forthwith from cooperation and wool to railroading and headed east late in May with Jesse N. Smith and Ammon M. Tenney to secure a grading contract. After some delay, they located A. A. Palmer, chief engineer, at Pueblo. With him they signed a contract for five miles of grading on a stretch that lay astride the continental divide some 150 miles northeast of Snowflake. Organizing themselves as Young, Smith, and Tenney, they arranged to begin work. On the strength of their contract, they placed orders with Albuquerque houses for food to relieve their hungry towns as well as the feed and equipment necessary to carry out the contract.

Rushing back to Snowflake in time for stake conference in the latter part of June, they presented their action to the members of the stake who "agreed by vote of the Conference" to take the contract.[7] The assembled members of the priesthood also agreed to take additional contracts and, suggesting the course events were to take, organized a board of trade composed of the stake presidency and two prominent bishops to "stand between the contractors and the people."[8] It is significant that this latter measure was undertaken entirely at Smith's instance, Young concerning himself only with the promotion of the grading contract.

By midsummer, the villages of the Eastern Arizona Stake stood half empty with twenty teams and forty men heading east from Snowflake and smaller numbers from the other towns. Arriving at the construction site, they found themselves completely without provisions and equipment. In spite of some tense and hungry days, most of the snarls were soon worked out of the job. By the first week in August, all the men were equipped and working. A makeshift commissary was set up from which the needs of the construction crews and the communities back in Arizona were met.

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[7] Journal of Jesse N. Smith, p. 245.

[8] "Minutes of Eastern Arizona Stake Conferences, 1879-82," p. 110.

As the enterprise developed so did questions about the nature of the contracting agency. In the movement's initial stages, Young, Smith, and Tenney had taken the contract as a conventional company and had organized their affairs along characteristic lines. But the immediate objective had clearly been the relief of the food shortage and all had worked to this end in what was acknowledged to be a cooperative effort to meet a common threat. By the first of September, it was apparent that John W. Young saw the future of Mormon railroading in a different light than Smith, who conceived of it as a program to bolster the economy of the colony and as a means of keeping Gentile labor out. As far as immediate considerations went, Young regarded it as a private economic opportunity and was determined to run the enterprise so as to make a profit. But at the same time he was anxious to employ Mormons and give them every advantage of the activity generated by his company. Uneasy as the complexion of the situation emerged, Smith temporarily withdrew and returned to Snowflake.

Contracting II: Private Enterprise

As the work of the first contract neared completion, Young moved to get others, forcing Tenney out as he went. In October when F. W. Smith, superintendent of the railroad, visited the head of the line, Young was able to interest him in a personal survey of the work remaining to be done across Arizona. In company with J. M. Latta, a lumberman who had contracted to furnish the road's ties, they dashed off in a spanking new outfit provided by Young, the luxuriance of which dismayed and concerned the thrifty church members who were working for him. But the ostentation paid off, or, for the moment at least, it seemed to, as on their return Young closed deals, contracting with Smith to finish one hundred miles of grading by July of 1881 and subcontracting a half million ties from Latta to be filled no later than September.

However, it was necessary to sign on less favorable terms than previously. Rather than reducing the actual rates, the railroad placed Young at a disadvantage by demanding a 10 percent rebate on the entire operation and withheld about half of the very liberal freight drawbacks allowed on goods hauled over the road under the terms of the earlier contract.[9] During the autumn, Young worked feverishly to organize this immense new project. Borrowing heavily at high rates from Santa Fe and Albuquerque banks, he built up his outfit. The commissary was enlarged. On the strength of the new contracts, merchants in New Mexico extended credit for goods to stock new outlets which were established in makeshift tent buildings along the road. To his ranch at Leroux Springs on the southwest side of the San Francisco Mountains, he added other key spots along the track, buying Thompson Ranch at the fork of Rio Puerco Wash and the Little Colorado and taking over the defunct Mormon forts at Obed and Brigham City. Significantly, he failed in an effort to capture control of important coal deposits that were coming to light in the area of Gallup, New Mexico.[10]

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[9] Erastus Snow explained this phase of the business in a letter to President Franklin D. Richards of the First Presidency written January 22, 1883, Erastus Snow Letter Box, CHO. Similar concessions were no doubt made to Mr. Latta. The tie contract was a close proposition and Young knew it, as he had previously refused to bid on the major contract on the basis that the going rate was too little to allow a profit. See "Minutes of Eastern Arizona Stake Conferences, 1879-82," p. 111.

It was also necessary to recruit a large labor force. Young, who thought that no fewer than a thousand men and teams would be required, looked to the church as his primary source. Authorities in Arizona supported him from the first in building this work force. As on earlier occasions, they urged the faithful to take a fair share of the proceeds of this new development and to keep out "the vicious" by doing the work themselves.

Recognizing the impossibility of drawing the entire crew from the Arizona communities, Young requested help from Utah. Soon a large number of men headed by Abraham F. Doremus and Rulon S. Wells, general superintendent and chief bookkeeper, respectively, were en route from that quarter. By December, no fewer than five hundred men and teams had assembled along the lower river. There Doremus and Jesse N. Smith, who had been directed by the church to rejoin Young, were swamped as they struggled to let subcontracts and organize the grading work. Although the surveying was not carried out on schedule and much of the earth work was consequently delayed, construction was soon under way along the entire front of Young's contract which extended west to a few miles beyond Sunset.

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[10] "Autobiography of Joseph Fish," p. 186.

Tie-cutting proceeded simultaneously. Timber camps were located at Fort Moroni at Leroux Springs on the west and near Young's headquarters at Bacon Springs on the continental divide in New Mexico. Elsewhere cooperative groups set up mills and subbed tie contracts.

As the pressures of his tight contracts and unfavorable loans built up, Young drove his subordinates and failed to pay his docile Mormon subcontractors and laborers. Soon he was at sword's point with railroad representatives as well as the banking and mercantile interests of the New Mexican cities. In this condition, he limped along harassed by both sides to complete his contracts, with the primary losers being the workers whom he was unable to pay.

Contracting III: Limitations of the Board of Trade

Meantime, the church had begun to take an interest in railroad construction. In part, this was a reflection of the mounting importance of John W. Young's business on the Atlantic and Pacific road, but it was broader than that. Colonists elsewhere, principally in southeastern Utah and southwestern Colorado, were finding relief from the poverty of their marginal beginnings by taking construction jobs on the Denver Rio Grande and Western track that was building toward Salt Lake City.

The Salt Lake authorities took action late in the summer of 1880. At that time, Erastus Snow and Brigham Young, Jr., toured the entire construction area. After their return to Salt Lake City, the church proposed to stabilize the Mormon labor market and bring all contracting and working members under central supervision. Pursuant to this decision, a central board of trade consisting of Erastus Snow, Brigham Young, Jr., John W. Young, and Jesse N. Smith was set up. Long identical letters of instruction were addressed to each of them on October 27. Along with a letter from B. Young and Snow advising that additional grading contracts not to exceed twenty-five miles be taken, the instructions were forwarded to Smith and John W. Young on the twenty-eigth, two days after the latter had taken the hundred mile contract referred to above.

The major objectives outlined in the instructions were the exclusion of "the unruly and disorderly element" and the monopolization of labor as the lines approached the Mormon settlements. In conjunction with stake and local boards, the committee was directed to so organize the labor force as to achieve these goals without damaging the moral fiber of the community or jeopardizing the physical success of colonization. The instructions elaborated that the committee's duties were to include the estimation of manpower needs and its recruitment. Once raised, the workers were to be organized along church lines with presidencies over the various camps in which the strictest discipline was to be maintained. Breach of the sabbath, profanity, drinking, attendance of meetings, and payment of tithes were all the object of special mention.[11]

Finally, the committee was charged in explicit terms to prohibit exploitation and to engender a feeling for the common interest and goals of all Latter-day Saints. In reference to such matters, the instructions denied:

> the privilege of any man or company of men to take advantage of the circumstances of the people and their necessities and farm them out for their private profit. As Latter-day Saints we are all equal, and we should labor for each others' benefit and no man should selfishly build himself up or enrich himself at the expense of his brethren. If he has superior advantages either of position or of skill, let him have a fair remuneration therefor; but beyond this he should not go. He should labor as we all should for the welfare, advancement and prosperity of the people. . . .[12]

Sensing that it might be difficult to determine what represented a fair remuneration where the time of the committee itself was concerned, the Salt Lake authorities went on " as to yourselves, for the labor which you perform . . . five percent would be a proper amount."[13]

Nor did the letter of instructions limit its directives to the organization and pay of the work force. Merchandizing in connection with the operation was also to be controlled. Specifically:

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[11] Interestingly, it was planned to appoint a "Bishop's Agent" to collect tithing monies in the railroad camps. Letter of instructions from First Presidency to John W. Young, October 27, 1880, John W. Young Paper Box for 1880-1887, CHO.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid.

> The supplies should also be provided subject to the action and adjustment of the various Boards, no one man or few men receiving the profits therefrom, but like the labor, it should be performed in the interest of all, that confidence may grow among the people and brotherhood, unity and harmony prevail.[14]

Thus in raising an obstacle to the infiltration of the Gentiles and taking a fair profit from the advent of the railroad, equality, brotherly concern, and cooperation were hopefully seen as the motive force and theme.

The questionable element in this entire arrangement was, of course, John W. Young. Unsure of this mercurial son of Brigham Young, other leading Mormons now made it their purpose to bridle and control him by surrounding him with more stable men.

Welcoming the help of his associates of the board, Young at first appeared to submit to the propositions set up by the church. Immediately after receiving the instructions, he wired his brother Brigham, Jr., in Salt Lake City informing him of the new grading and timber contracts. Although it was obvious in the context of the telegram that he intended to work with the others, he did not state explicitly that he would comply with the conditions of the letter. Pressed by his brother, he replied that he was indeed "subject to instructions."[15]

Although all parties, including the two Young's, took this to be a firm commitment, the nature of John W.'s personality and the extent of his involvement frustrated the attempt to restore the cooperative spirit in which the original contract had been launched. In part, this was due to obligations already incurred by John W. Young. Not only were the contracts in his name but he had run up a heavy indebtedness. Confronted by the economic realities of this situation, he was reluctant to yield to the more cautious approach of the other members. They, in turn, were hesitant to have their names drawn too deeply into questionable financial deals, the course of which they were not able to alter. Furthermore, the early flirtation between Young and the Gentile representatives of the railroad had soured by early winter; the three associates had no stomach for involving themselves and the church in relations that were already far deteriorated.

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[14] Ibid.

[15] See telegram of John W. Young to Brigham Young, Jr., November 2, 1880, John W. Young Letter Box, CHO.

Burdened with such liabilities, the cooperative leadership of the four men did not materialize. Soon all pretense to it was completely abandoned. Erastus Snow withdrew, rightly convinced that John W. was determined to retain complete financial control of the operation.[16] Brigham Young, Jr., stayed on for a time recruiting and organizing construction gangs but was held as much by filial ties as by church association. The final member of the committee, Jesse N. Smith, worked for several months directing the grading and maintaining some semblance of the spiritual order suggested by the instructions. His role, however, was that of a salaried superintendent, not that of a partner or associate. As the troubles with railroad officials and financial pressures multiplied, he was subjected to mounting criticism from Young, whose ebullient optimism and general kindliness were temporarily checked by the threatened collapse of his enterprise. A proud man, Smith chafed under this relationship and remained only because of church directive and of the stubborn hope that he might represent the loyal Mormons who had followed counsel to take employment with Young.

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[16] One account reported that Erastus Snow discussed Young's personality and conduct publicly but without undue rancor:

> "Bro. John W. Young has many good qualities but his business training has been on too large a scale for the majority of the Saints. Thought his heart was better than his head. . . . Bro. Young had promised to see that the brethren were paid for their work on the road. . . . It was difficult for Bro John to be just before he was generous. What I say I say because I wish good to him and to Israel, did not wish any one to sacrifice on their time checks. . . ."

See "Minutes of Eastern Arizona Stake Conferences, 1879-1882," p. 153.

In spite of all efforts to protect them, the subcontractors and workers lost heavily. Young apparently had good intentions but simply felt less pressure to pay his workers than he did to meet other obligations. Repeatedly promising early settlement, he negotiated with the railroad, seeking an upward revision in his contract. The railroaders, however, compounded his difficulty by not only refusing to alter the rates of the contract but by favoring other contractors in the surveying and engineering of the line. As a consequence, Young's schedule was often interrupted and the patience of unpaid workers further tried as they were forced to wait on engineering crews.

Not all workers went unpaid, however. As noted previously, supplies had been advanced to the stricken communities at the time of the early contract. It would appear, in addition, that most of those who had worked on the first contract were paid.[17] During the later contract, too, some were paid for their services but found it necessary to take goods at inflated prices from Young's commissary.[18] Even men in mangerial positions, did not always find it easy to collect payment. Brigham Young, Jr., though he had to accept goods, appears to have been the exception and was well compensated for his efforts, receiving, according to Snow, "$1500 to $2000 in teams and family supplies."[19]

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[17] Indeed, in a few cases prospective workers had reversed roles with Young, taking advances on anticipated work back to the Little Colorado never to return. See "Autobiography of Joseph Fish," p. 172.

[18] The docile nature of Mormon labor is attested by the fact that no evidence has been discovered that those who lost most complained. While they must have objected and objected strenuously, they did not write about it in their journals nor did they give vent to their ire in church meetings where word of their feelings would have been recorded. Perhaps part of their complacency may be traced to the fact that Young continually promised to make his indebtedness good. There is no evidence that anyone questioned that he would ultimately make full restitution. Although he went on to deal in large sums of money in Arizona ranching and in railroading and securities in the East, his promotions demanded that every dollar be turned into his schemes. Yet his conscience never let him rest, and he occasionally mentioned his intention to square the matter at some future date. Among those who mention his concern was James N. LeSueur, whose father had worked for Young and was among the few fortunate enough to be paid in cash. For an account by the latter, see "Mormon Settlements in Navajo Country," LeSueur Papers, APHS, pp. 2-3.

[19] Letter of Erastus Snow to Franklin D. Richards, January 22, 1883, Erastus Snow Letter Box, CHO.

Snow himself drew only $420 in store items, and Smith was paid $75 per month for his services, all of which was taken in "wares out of the store at very high prices."[20]

By the end of 1881 construction had been completed. Still promising to pay his workers, Young turned his attention to other activities. For several years he continued to hope that he might get an additional settlement from the railroad and gathered depositions and written testimony relative to the terms and conditions of his contract. Finally, his lawyers presented claims totaling nearly $50,000 to the railroad officials who evidently ignored them. There is no indication that the matter ever came before the courts or that it was settled out of court.[21]

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[20] See Journal of Jesse N. Smith, p. 251.

[21] See sworn statements and claims in John W. Young Railroad File, 1881-1886, CHO. No direct evidence as to the overall financial value of the contracts has been discovered. However, some idea of the values involved may be reconstructed from occasional and scattered references. A copy of the original five-mile grading contract is included in the John W. Young Railroad Files in the CHO. Unfortunately, this gives no clue as to the total amount paid for the grading but does state the following unit rates:

"Grubbing and clearing per acre---$40.00
Earth work: excavation---18¢; embankment---18¢;
Rock Work: loose rock---45¢ & 60¢; solid rock---$1.00 & $1.30;
Rip rap: ---$1.50."

At the June stake conference in Snowflake where Young and Smith told church members of their contract, the former estimated its value at $10,000. Although this was an offhand estimate made before a yard of dirt had been moved, it is the only indication of the grading's value that I have discovered. Taken at the standard of $2000 per mile that it sets, the hundred mile contract less the 10 percent kickback would have amounted to $180,000. The contract for a half million ties at the rate of 10¢ each set by Young (see telegram of John W. Young to Brigham Young, No-

Thus division and conflict were integral elements of the railroad contracts. An unplanned mix of personal initiative and Mormon cooperation, they point up both a tardy response to a situation that demanded order from the first and the general ineffectiveness of business by committee. However, it should be borne in mind that the contracts which had been taken initially as a community relief measure made a real contribution to the welfare of the Little Colorado community. People were drawn into the country. Original colonists found more to hope for as employment and prosperity temporarily let them view the country in a different light. Nevertheless, the entire undertaking was an exercise in divided loyalty--a division that was the more difficult to cope with because it manifested itself at the top among the leaders of the church. Played upon by varying forces, these men found it difficult if not impossible to maintain the lockstep uniformity of interests and methods demanded by the board of trade's approach.

The Arizona Cooperative Mercantile Institution

A related development of the early 1880's was the cooperative movement. Extending to many aspects of Little Colorado economy, its most important manifestation was in the founding of a cooperative mer-

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vember 2, 1880, John W. Young Railroad File, CHO) yielded $50,000. By these admittedly crude estimates, the combined contracts thus valued something like $240,000. In addition to this sum, a good volume of business was carried on by the commissaries which would have further swelled the total amount of Young's construction enterprises.

cantile system during 1880 and 1881. Talked of even before the railroad entered the country, the practical organization of cooperative stores coincided in large measure with the completion of the railroad.[22] The mercantile cooperatives thus became one of the first fruits of the modest business growth that followed the railway into northern Arizona.

The Arizona Cooperative Mercantile Institution, as the system was called, was composed of a wholesale outlet and a number of retail branches. With the stated interest of advancing the self-sufficiency and strength of the colony through unifying Mormon trade, it succeeded in some degree, playing an important economic role throughout the entire period of colonization.

In considering the factors that prompted the ACMI's founding, two general sorts of influences may be noted--the one primarily external in nature and the other internal. Of the first sort, the most obvious and important was the completion of the railroad. Simultaneously making effective merchandizing practicable and opening the country to an invasion of Gentile business interests, the railroad's completion seemed to make prompt action imperative. The general Mormon aversion for outside businessmen having been sharpened even before the tracks were laid by conflict with the business people of St. Johns, it was hoped that the cooperative's early initiation would tend to limit the growth and influence of this "ungodly" element.

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[22] The first shipment of goods to the cooperative store which arrived late in 1881 was likely the first freight not directly connected with construction work to reach the country. Of this event Joseph Fish wrote:

> "At this time a station that was then called Billings situated about 24 miles above Holbrook was as far west as the road was sending any freight, and I went up there to see what arrangements could be made about getting the goods forwarded on to Holbrook. The track was laid as far as Holbrook or a little beyond but only construction trains were running below Billings. At first the Agent refused to send the goods on but after a present of $10. and a promise that I would not hold the company responsible for any shortage that there might be he sent the freight on. There were two cars, and they were hitched on to a construction train and taken on."

See "Autobiography of Joseph Fish," November 1881, p. 181.

The cooperatave movement was also indicated by long-standing Mormon experience, Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution and other cooperative enterprises having appeared in Utah as early as the 1860's.[23] Furthermore, that part of the Little Colorado community that had turned its back upon the United Order found cooperative activities to offer a practical substitute for the more complete form of union.

Consequently, Erastus Snow and local leaders organized the ACMI during the early summer of 1881 while crews still rushed to complete grading contracts on the railroad. Pursuant to this organization, a committee composed of Jesse N. Smith, Joseph Fish, and David K. Udall had drawn up a constitution and bylaws which were accepted on June 27 at a stake conference. A board of directors consisting of the two stake presidents and nine bishops of the colony was immediately elected. These in turn chose Jesse N. Smith as president and superintendent of the cooperative and Lot Smith and Joseph Fish, respectively, as vice-president and secretary-treasurer. The initial steps of organiation were completed by laying plans to establish a parent store at Holbrook and retail outlets in the various settlements.

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[23] For the most convenient summary of this movement and an excellent bibliography, see Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, pp. 293-322.

It should be noted that Lot Smith and the two bishops from the lower river villages represented a minority element in this arrangement. Although certain residents of the United Order towns were active in the cooperative movement, control was decidedly in the hands of the larger and somewhat more affluent Eastern Arizona Stake. Numerical and economic matters doubtlessly curtailed the participation of the "Orderites," but a more important determinant was the fact that they entertained strong doubts as to the religious and social soundness of such conventional means. Lot Smith's reaction to the earliest discussion of the cooperatives back in 1879 was characteristic of this reticence. "Debt," he declared, would be the "inevitable outcome of coop stores." Furthermore, he thought, that "true saints" could not "refuse to adopt the commandment to unite . . . and become self sustaining" under the banners of the United Order.[24] Loath to embrace a varying form of union, order leaders nevertheless acquiesced and became more or less silent partners in the new organization.

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[24] Wilford Woodruff, who was in attendance at the stake conference where Smith took this position, sustained his remarks but added the significant and practical reservation "that we only import what we can't manufacture." "Minutes of the Little Colorado Stake Conferences," November 29, 1879, p. 159.

A drive to raise funds to finance the ACMI was also launched at the June meeting. Many loyal members rose to the occasion, making immediate subscriptions, but, as one of them wrote in his diary, much of this "was not available at this time as Brother /John W./ Young was not in a position to meet his obligations."[25] However, during the next few months some $5000 was raised in cash which, with $2500 worth of property and goods taken over and applied in the interest of John W. Young's creditors, served as the original assets of the ACMI.

Although Young's failure to pay his labor had worked considerable hardship, it now proved to be a real boon. Not only had his contracts provided the colony with a supply of cash, but his failure to fully meet his payrolls had the effect of setting up a forced savings which created an otherwise unlikely surplus from which the cooperative was founded. Joseph Fish, who received the remnants of Young's commissary goods at Holbrook in the fall of 1881 and applied them to the "Coop. Store on capital stock," recognized the effect of the situation. He wrote that the goods:

> were taken for Time Checks that different parties held against John W. Young. This was giving each man his credit on capital stock for his time checks. This was not as good as the cash to be sure but in this way we collected many debts for the men that they probably would never have got if left for them to collect.

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[25] "Autobiography of Joseph Fish," p. 179.

> This seemed about the only way for some of the men to get their pay as Brother Young was not in a position to pay his men, and by taking the goods it gave the store a start as some who turned in these time checks would not have turned in the money had they been paid in cash.[26]

From Young's defunct business the ACMI also acquired several lots. Complete with a railroad siding, these seemed an ideal place to build the store.

Young, who had been one of the prime movers in the earliest cooperative activities, was not permitted a voice on the ACMI board. At least two factors featured in this. In the first place, there was real reason to fear that he would sieze control of the cooperative as he had done the railroad contract. This fear was accentuated by the awareness that his wool business at Moencopi was the first Mormon business venture in the territory. Secondly, to have opened the organization to him would have been to accept his property in exchange for capital stock in his own name and would have deprived a number of church members this opportunity to receive something on his debts to them.[27]

Almost before the busy days of establishment had passed, the ACMI was faced by its first crisis, one of the most serious of its existence. Young, believing that a site two miles east of present-day

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[26] Ibid., p. 181.

[27] Unhappy at his exclusion from the board of directors, Young at first refused to turn his property over to the new enterprise, but as it provided a means of easing his embarrassing situation he soon overcame his ire and made the transfer referred to above. See Journal of Jesse N. Smith, p. 254.

Holbrook would be the depot, had previously purchased Thompson, as the spot was known. Renaming it after F. A. Holbrook, chief engineer for the railroad, he had promoted it during the construction period and evidently turned part of it over to the cooperative in good faith, still thinking that the depot would be located there. However, about the first of 1882, the company moved the stop from the long curve at Young's site, leaving the ACMI isolated without the rail connections that were considered essential to its development. The best efforts of its representatives notwithstanding, the coop was unable to acquire a building site in the new town, and, after some hesitation, it was moved thirteen miles up the Little Colorado to Woodruff.[28]

During the next eight years, the ACMI remained at Woodruff. For a time it enjoyed a modest growth as local coops in Snowflake, Taylor, Eager, Alpine, Concho and Pleasanton, New Mexico, were added to the one established earlier at St. Johns. Business expanded from the dry goods and groceries of the first year to include furniture, wagons, and various lines of farm machinery.

After a brief interlude of prosperity, the ACMI survived a second crisis when most of the leading Little Colorado Mormons found it necessary to move to Mexico in 1885. Deprived of its leaders, the entire community suffered a general economic collapse that was as apparent in the cooperative's business as anywhere. It is indicative of its essential vigor, however, that a "creditable" two-story brick building was erected during this time.[29]

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[28] The ACMI's primitive condition at the original Holbrook during that first winter is apparent in the following reminiscence of Joseph Fish:

> "I worked here under several difficulties, there was not a house in the place except the store and we had no stove in it. The weather was getting cold and I remember . . . the ink would freeze on my pen so I had to stick it in the fire occasionally to thaw it out."

See "Autobiography of Joseph Fish," p. 181.

In June of 1888, most of the business community of Holbrook burned; out of this disaster grew opportunity for the ACMI to return to the railroad. Among those hard hit by the fire was the firm of Adamson and Burbage which, after making preliminary arrangements to re-establish itself, sold out to the Mormon institution. Back in Holbrook, the cooperative remained a Mormon outpost in an otherwise Gentile community until its passing in the twentieth century.

Business Adaptations of the ACMI

Although certain of its early backers envisioned a system that would extend throughout the entire territory, the ACMI never grew beyond the confines of the Little Colorado. Limited in its geographic area and in the public it served, the volume of its business was always small. Some idea of its size may be formed from the fact that the parent store's assessed valuation in 1884 was only $10,350. As late as 1890 after many of the local stores had been assimilated by the central outlet, its capital stock still amounted to no more than $31,000. Beginning with the impressive turnover of $65,000 in 1881 when it virtually monopolized the business of the entire region, its sales mounted slowly to $111,000 in 1891, which in spite of drought and heavy competition was the best year the cooperative had enjoyed to that time.[30]

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[29] Joseph Fish, "History of the Eastern Arizona Stake . . . ," p. 18.

The parent store, or the ACMI proper, was involved in both wholesale and retail trade. Most of the wholesaling was conducted with the other Mormon coops. Retail trade, on the other hand, was always dependent upon the business of outsiders. In no small part, this business was with cowboys and Mexicans.[31] Although some of its people were uneasy at the practice, the Mormon coop catered to this clientele, which rarely came to town during the week, by leaving the doors open on Sunday.

An increasing portion of the establishment's business was with wool and stockgrowers. Wool especially came to be an important item, and the fortunes of the ACMI corresponded closely with those of the wool industry.[32] Since, with certain exceptions, Little Colorado Mormons did not acquire large sheep herds, most of the wool trade was with Gentiles.[33] Strong in the late 1880's, wool lost ground relatively as cattle and freighting developed in the 1890's.

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[30] "Autobiography of Joseph Fish," pp. 265, 302.

[31] Fish, who like many Arizona Mormons studied Spanish spasmodically and had spent some time in Mexico, wrote in 1888: "I was compelled almost to brighten up some of my Spanish as we have so many Mexicans to deal with, nearly half of our retail trade is with Mexicans, some of who do not speak English." Ibid., p. 267.

[32] References to the importance of the wool business are frequent. The following is characteristic:

The wool business and to a lesser degree the trade in cattle were part of the conventional American economy; the coop's trade with its Mormon patrons was less characteristic. As a rule, the Mormon communities were woefully short of cash. Indicative of the adjustment to this fact was the following which one Woodruff pioneer recorded just after the easing of the drought that compounded the distress of the Panic of 1893:

> "April 29, 1890 . . . Trade this spring was a little slack, the spring being late the sheepmen were later than common in shearing, so the money for wool was not coming in as soon as common. And the wool trade was one of our greatest sources of revenue as this brought in more money than anything else."

Fish is not being redundant in stating that wool brought in more money and was one of the greatest sources of revenue. Much of their business was in kind or barter; wool, however, not only produced revenue generally but was in most cases a cash business. See "Autobiography of Joseph Fish," pp. 273, 275, 282, 287.

[33] Of this subject Fish wrote in 1889:

> "The sheep business had been a success, this industry had taken a boom, but unfortunately not very many of our people had much invested in this line and did not get the benefits of this raise as others did who owned large flocks of sheep."

Ibid., p. 267. However, not all Arizona Mormons missed out on this opportunity. According to James LeSueur, "sheep sold as low as 50¢ to $1.00 a head" during the drought of the early 1890's and "many a Mormon bought sheep and cattle at sacrifice prices." See "Trouble with the Hash Knife Cattle Company," Le Sueur Papers, APHS, p. 7. LeSueur and his father made a real killing, buying 6000 sheep for $1.00 a head and eight years later reselling the herd which had meantime increased to 14,000 to Babbit Bros. of Flagstaff for $6.00 each or $84,000. See James N. LeSueur, "Autobiographical Notes of My Life," LeSueur Papers, APHS, p. 38.

> Everybody complains of hard times--all over the country--money scarce--business failures, and a general panic prevails. Summer rains are helping the range in these parts. The stock that survived the dreadful drouth are now doing well. In these parts good health and moderate prosperity prevail--except in money matters.[34]

A major challenge to Mormon mercantilism on the Little Colorado was the necessity of developing methods and techniques by which it could stay in business under such conditions. While the procedures which evolved were not always original, the adjustment it made was both hardheaded and imaginative and certainly deserving of attention here.

Initially, the limited amount of money and total absence of banks in the country made it necessary for the cooperative to conduct its business without the benefits of banking. Other sources of credit were found. Cash payments were made, sometimes by Wells Fargo and sometimes directely by the store's agents who carried the money on their persons. In 1882, for example, Joseph Fish gingerly made his way to St. Louis carrying $7000 which must have represented most of the business's money. With this sum, he had no trouble placing $12,000 worth of orders with several St. Louis firms.

Of greater importance was the credit business between church members and the cooperative. Never able to effectively turn back the importunings of destitue Mormons, the ACMI always had more money on its books than it could safely carry. Concerned because they were themselves hard pressed, its managers, who were in most cases prominent church leaders, often took advantage of their ecclesiastical positions to caution and admonish against credit's use. At a stake conference in 1884, Jesse N. Smith inveighed against its evils in tones reminiscent of Brigham Young's injunctions in their directness and assertiveness:

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[34] "Journal of Levi Mathers Savage," p. 46.

> We have built up a mercantile house which is successful but a system of credit has been inaugurated that will ruin us unless it is stopped. I have all the time taken a strong ground against crediting. The Kingdom cannot be built upon the credit system. We have to educate the people into a better system of business. I do not blame the brethren, but it is the duty of those on the watchtower to give notice of approaching danger.[35]

In spite of cries from the watchtower, the use of credit persisted, and the better system that developed was, as we shall see below, almost entirely in the form of defensive adaptation on the part of the ACMI.

The problem of credit was no less critical in the wholesaling business than in the retail trade. The hardier local coops met their obligations, sometimes even in cash; the smaller ones, which in the words of one pioneer were "weakly and meager," were less sure. Characteristic was the cooperative store at Amity (later Eager) where A. N. Holden was bishop and general manager. Holden "bought on credit, sold his goods on credit, never got his pay, and so could not pay for them. The store failed in a short time, leaving its creditor, the ACMI to mourn its loss."[36] Frequently the business of these small stores. whether in credit or in cash was actually carried on in kind. As a result, their dealings with the mother institution were largely in the form of barter. For example, every entry in one ACMI account book to the credit of the struggling Taylor Coop between September 1892 and February 1893 was for farm produce.[37]

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[35] Journal of Jesse N. Smith, September 14, 1884, p. 292. The tensions that grew out of these circumstances and the realization that credit was necessary to business is apparent in the following:

> "The bills and accounts were becoming due and we were in a very poor position to meet them. This appears to be the lot of all who do a credit business. This however, seemed unavoidable at this period as the parties expected the stores to carry them until they sold their stock or sheared their sheep."

Ibid., November 16, 1891, p. 287.

This barter system came to be one of the primary characteristics of the ACMI's business. It was conducted in the broadest possible sense with lumber, coal, farm produce, livestock, land, and services being taken in on account. But even the barter system had its limitations. Failing to produce sufficient goods to meet their own needs, the Little Colorado settlers were, of course, curtailed in what they had to enter in trade. In discussing the absence of money and the difficulties of bartering, Joseph Fish noted in 1890: "The farmers raised but little more than they needed and nothing was sent out in this line for sale, but much that we used in the way of provisions was imported . . . as there was not enough raised for home consumption. . . .[38] Thus limited in more liquid barter items, the ACMI occasionally found it necessary to take land on its debts which it then entered into the local market as circumstances permitted.

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[36] Fish, "History of the Eastern Arizona Stake . . . ," p. 19.

[37] See "Account Book" kept by John McLaws of St. Joseph, p. 60. The original is in the hands of George S. Tanner of Salt Lake City.

[38] "Autobiography of Joseph Fish," p. 273.

Perhaps the most important item in this noncash business was labor or services. Although numerous types of service were entertained, the most usual one was freighting. The ACMI probably did some freighting from the very first, but from 1888 after it moved back to Holbrook it pursued it vigorously and appears to have been one of the major contracting firms in supplying Ft. Apache and other government posts.

As in the case of railroad grading, Little Colorado Mormons originally sought freighting as a public works project. Writing to John Henry Smith of the Twelve Apostles in the spring of 1888, Jesse N. Smith called his attention to the "great lack of bread stuffs" in certain of the Little Colorado wards. Ruefully noting that freighting to Ft. Apache promised some hope but that the ACMI could not take it as it had no land to offer as surety on the contract (few if any Little Colorado Mormons had acquired legal title to their land in 1888), he continued:

> Last year the contract was let to some parties in California and by them sublet to the Jew firm of Schuster Bros. in Holbrook at $1.237/10 per hundred. Of course we cannot say just what the first contract was, but presume there was some margin. The Schusters have been very hard on the brethren not paying them any money and cheating them in the goods they let them have. Now that the wool business is declining the outlook is very gloomy for us unless we can secure this freighting or something of the kind.[39]

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[39] See letter of March 17, 1888, Papers of Brigham Young, Jr., Activities of the ZCMI folder, CHO. Another undertaking of the ACMI

He concluded by requesting that someone bid out the contract from Salt Lake City which Brigham Young, Jr., shortly did. His bid which at Smith's recommendation was set at $1.26 1/2 per hundred weight was not low, and Adamson and Burbage of Holbrook took the contract.

Events shortly intervened, and after the burning of the Holbrook business community referred to above, Adamson and Burbage turned over their entire interests including the freight contract to the Mormon firm. During the next few years, the cooperative, whose stockholders soon acquired titles to their land, took contracts in its own rights and subcontracted others.

That freighting was considered a communal enterprise by some but not by all Mormons was apparent in 1890 when, in spite of precautions to avoid such a dilemma, the ACMI found it necessary to rush supplies to the hungry fort during the wettest December that the Mormons had experienced on the Little Colorado. William J. Flake, who hauled

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which was in some degree in the nature of a public works project was the building erected in Woodruff in 1885--a critical moment in the history of the cooperative, as the polygamy prosecutions had induced something of a recession in the country. Joseph Fish indicated that the new building was built because of hard times, not in spite of them when he wrote:

> "The contract . . . was let to George Coombs for the food of the people of Woodruff. . . . By this means the most of the people had employment during the latter part of the season and gave them a chance to get their bread and the place appeared to be in quite a prosperous condition."

See Fish, "History of the Eastern Arizona Stake . . . ," p. 36. About ten years later after the cooperative had moved from Woodruff, settlers there were again helped by the ACMI when the building was turned over to them "almost as a present." See "Lorenzo Hill Hatch Journal," p. 207.

during this period, used twenty horses and reported that the roads were so soft that his wagon box dragged the ground in many places. Others found that they could make only a mile or two a day and that a round trip usually made in eight to ten days now required at least twenty. There were few who appeared to haul under these conditions. The ACMI first upped its rate from the regular $1.00 per hundred pounds to $1.50, and when this failed to attract freighters extended a church call. Enough men responded to take Christmas supplies to Ft. Apache and save the reputation of the store.[40] It is interesting to note that all of those who are recorded as having helped were older men who had come into the country as pioneers. Younger Mormons, some of whom were regular freighters, had, in Fish's words, "tried to pinch us all they could . . . in trying to block our progress and take advantage of our circumstances."[41]

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[40] "The Life and Labors of John Bushman," December 9, 1890, p. 143.

[41] "Autobiography of Joseph Fish," pp. 299-300. The location of the Silver Creek settlements together with economic needs and the responsible nature of the Mormon settlers resulted in them moving most of the Ft. Apache freight whether the ACMI or some Gentile firm took the contract. Their dominant role was noted by a correspondent of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat who wrote the following as he passed through the country in 1890:

> "All the freighting to and from Fort Apache is carried on by Mormons, the superiority of their teams and their own steady habits having enabled them to fill government contracts so satisfactorily that they have completely supplanted Mexican and Gentile freighters."

See quote in the Millennial Star, LII, 167.

Whatever its effect as a relief program, freighting lent itself admirably to the broadening of the ACMI's nonmoney business. While life on the Little Colorado was one of unremitting toil, time was often more available than farm produce and almost always in better supply than money. A direct traffic in services and time had consequently been a characteristic of their commerce. Indeed, it will be recalled that the very foundations of the ACMI rested upon the barter of time for stock in the institution. The practice had continued, but prior to the taking of freight, contracts had been limited by the very nature of the coop's business. In freighting was found a means of expanding this traffic as a substantial number of men and teams now took fairly consistent employment with the ACMI. The economic significance of this situation was summarized by Joseph Fish as he sought another contract in April of 1891:

> Notwithstanding the great trouble we had in getting freight through last winter, we were anxious to get the freight contract thinking that the weather would be more favorable and that we could get in the freight earlier in the season, besides it was the most convenient and about the only way we had in collecting bad debts and it also accommodated those who had no money as they could get their merchandize by freighting.[42]

We may conclude this discussion of the business activities of the ACMI by calling attention to certain quasi-banking functions into which it was drawn. Mormon reluctance to fraternize with outsiders, coupled with the fact that during the early years there was no bank nearer than Albuquerque or Prescott, demanded that the store provide certain services for its customers that would ordinarily have been handled by banks.

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[42] "Autobiography of Joseph Fish," p. 282.

Not unusual in this connection, but of real utility, was the practice of establishing negotiable credits. Customers frequently performed services or traded goods to the store, leaving net credits on which they later drew. Such credit was negotiable at the stores throughout the system and in some cases at ward tithing houses.

During the polygamy troubles, the store was used as a place of deposit and source of ready cash. In the mid-1880's, a defense fund was established and deposited in the store's safe. Maintained by contribution and a portion of the yearly dividends from the store, the fund was drawn on by needy members for travel and legal expenses. Others claimed credit that had built up in their names or even withdrew capital stock which was itself fairly liquid until sometime after 1890 when, to forestall depletion of its stock, the coop's bylaws were revised making it less liquid. Joseph Fish, who was forced to resign as superintendent of the ACMI over a controversy rising from such a situation in 1891, described the problem:

> Our by-laws were lame in one particular, the share holders were allowed to draw out their capital stock by giving three months notice. It was a bad clause as a few large holders in the enterprize could swamp the institution when ever they chose to draw out.[43]

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[43] Although they could have required the stockholder to wait for three months after requesting their money, they often advanced the mon-

In a few critical situations, loans were also extended to hard-pressed polygamists who suddenly found it necessary to leave the country.

Later, when the matter of securing legal title to their lands came to a head in 1888, the ACMI was again a prime source of ready cash. At that time, the church appropriated $500 for representatives to travel east and negotiate with the General Land Office and Aztec Land and Cattle Company to whom the A & P Railroad had sold most of its Little Colorado lands. Chosen along with Brigham Young, Jr., as an agent to take care of this business, Jesse N. Smith found it necessary to borrow $200 cash from the ACMI to make the trip. In the East, Young and Smith obligated the Little Colorado Mormons for very heavy land payments, in meeting which the Saints turned again to the coop store. In reference to this matter, Fish wrote:

> This payment came quite hard on the store as all who had any credit was drawing it out and all who possibly could, were borrowing of the store and other places. The store in this emergency advanced some money . . . and every string was being pulled that would raise a dollar.[44]

The ACMI was also used as a place of deposit for territorial monies that were appropriated to northern Arizona communities. One such instance occurred in 1891 when, after the Woodruff dam washed away for

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ey as quickly as it could be procured. George C. Williams, who had fled to Mexico, needed $3000 immediately late in 1890. Fish demurred but finally met his request after conferring with Jesse N. Smith, who as president of the company advised Fish to meet it. *Ibid.*, p. 288.

[44] *Ibid.*, March 8, 1890, p. 270.

the sixth time in the floods of that wet winter, an appropriation of $1500 was made.[45] Territorial warrants to that amount were deposited with the ACMI, and James Deans, foreman and engineer at the dam, was appointed agent to expend the funds.

The cooperative continued to render occasional services of this type until an informal association known locally as the "Smith Savings Bank" expanded to take over the function about 1907. This so-called savings bank had its modest beginning in 1893 when Jesse N. Smith called on the mebers of his family to bring their "savings in pennies, nickles, dimes, etc, and build up a savings account."[46] Other members of the community joined in this practice, and by 1900 a substantial number of petty investors had interest in it. The money so accumulated was lent to the ACMI. Soon people in quest of small loans were turned to the Smith Savings Bank funds rather than to the store. This ultimately led to the formal establishment of the Bank of Northern Arizona.[47]

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[45] Lorenzo H. Hatch, who had watched helplessly as each of the six dams had been washed away, noted in his diary under date of March 22, 1891:

> "During the week we were delighted to learn that my great exertion to help the people of Woodruff appeal to the Legislature for help had been rewarded. An appropriation of $1,500.00 had been made for this Purpose."

See "Lorenzo Hill Hatch Journal," p. 159.

[46] Journal of Jesse N. Smith, p. 398.

[47] Ibid. Also see "Lorenzo Hill Hatch Journal," January 8, 1899, p. 223, for his record of investment in the bank.

Nature and Purpose of the ACMI

It now becomes necessary to shift our attention from the business practices of the ACMI to a more direct consideration of its nature. Enjoying a quasi-religious status, the coop was supported by church officials and in most cases accepted by members. In its original conception, it was at complete harmony with the Mormon objectives of isolation and temporal and spiritual advance through social experimentation. Specifically, as we have seen, it was hoped that the cooperative would raise a barrier against the incursions and greed of Babylon's middlemen and that it would contribute to self-sufficiency, internal unity, and brotherly love in the colony.

Despite the similarity of certain of these objectives to those of the cooperative movement outside the Mormon community, it would appear that at no time after the very earliest years, and possibly not even then, was the ACMI's business conducted by associating capital, management, and the consumer in what would ordinarily be termed a cooperative fashion. Certainly dividends on profits were never distributed according to the amount of business done by consumers. Nor did the customer have any but the most indirect effect upon policy formulation. Yet in the early days cooperatives were discussed in terms that lead one to believe that certain leaders either planned to establish the institution after the Rochdale pattern or wanted the people to believe that they so intended. The latter possibility has a certain plausibility as there was some fear that the cooperatives would introduce class distinction and endebtedness into the colony. To discountenance such apprehensions, the popular and responsive nature of the movement may have been given special emphasis.

Whatever the facts, the first proponents of the movement appear to have been sensitive to the interests of the general membership of the colony. Asked to discuss the nature of cooperatives in November of 1879, John W. Young declared that among other things a cooperative was:

> an institution where all were interested all having a share in it. It should be an institution where all conducted /their business/ on a strictly cash and cooperative basis. The profits should first go to pay the capital invested a reasonable interest, the balance to be refunded to customers in the form of a dividend on their purchases. If possible the small stockholders should be protected against those who hold larger amounts. . . .[48]

Later, at the meeting where the ACMI was organized, Brigham Young, Jr., re-echoed the same sentiment. To all appearances, his were the feelings of the majority when he opined that the cooperative should be owned "by the whole people, not by a part of them only."[49] On the other hand, a little different emphasis, one that in the long run prevailed, was given the theme by President John Taylor, who wrote Lot Smith in the spring of 1880 that cooperatives should be under the direction of the stake presidents and the people who "furnish money."[50]

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[48] "Minutes of the Little Colorado Stake," November 29-30, 1879, p. 155.

[49] Journal of Jesse N. Smith, June 24, 1881, p. 253.

The problem as it appeared here and later in the representations of the cooperative's advocates was the question of who it was to serve and what the nature of its service would be. Promoted as a communal agency that would help the "whole people," it often appeared in practice to be managed by and for the profit of its owners. While the immediate benefits of both a social and pecuniary nature accrued primarily to the latter, a harmony of interest between a strong mercantile institution and the well-being of the community was assumed that cannot be entirely discounted. Subject to distortion and over-emphasis at the hands of the leading figures of the cooperative movement, the ACMI nevertheless provided certain services, a number of which filtered through to the lay members.

Although the "whole people" were never involved financially, the mercantile system's original ownership and management were broadly based indeed. As observed above, the circumstances of the ACMI's founding tended to spread the investment, many taking stock in it rather than accepting as total loss the money owed them by John W. Young. Two other factors tended to broaden the circle of those who were involved in the cooperative's business. In the first place, the original board of directors was composed of the two stake presidents and nine bishops of northern Arizona's ecclesiastical organization. Some of these board members were substantial shareholders, but most were seated by merit of their church positions. Furthermore, the nature of the local stores' relationship to the parent institution tended to enlarge the number of those participating in the direction and proceeds of the system. Rather than interlocking financially with the ACMI, each of the small stores was owned independently by local groups. In some cases, these investors were the same men who held stock in the ACMI, but as a rule their interest in the central outlet was only indirect. The practical result was a system so constituted as to permit as much local autonomy as church organization was capable of.

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[50] Letter of April 12, 1880, Lot Smith Papers, UA.

This system did not survive for long. Within two years most of the bishops had been dropped from the board which thereafter took on an increasingly conventional business character. The independent stores, too, soon passed from the scene as the weaker ones collapsed and the more viable ones came under the control of the ACMI. By the late 1890's, none of the local coops, with the possible exception of the one at St. Johns, remained under independent management.

Paralleling this deterioration of local ownership was, of course, the centralization of economic control. Under the pressure of sustained poverty, the original number of shareholders dwindled rapidly. To financial hard times were added the disorders and difficulties of the polygamy raid which, as noted previously, forced many small investors to turn their assets to cash or apply them on bills. As this attrition took its toll, larger stockholders moved in, picking up bits of stock as the occasion permitted.

Although transactions of this type have come to have a sinister connotation, in this case many of them were regarded as services rather than as undue or ruthless expansiveness on the part of the big shareholders. An interesting case that deviated from the ordinary only in the amount of money involved was that of Parson G. C. Williams, one-time Baptist preacher who had joined the church. Taking plural wives, Williams had been forced to flee to Mexico in 1885. There he purchased a sizeable tract of land which made heavy and recurring demands upon his financial resources important among which was a substantial investment in the ACMI. In 1891 he withdrew $3000 and two years later returned, requesting that the remainder of his investment be turned over to him. Although the size of his holdings complicated matters, his demands were met on both occasions. Of the circumstances and effects of the latter occasion, Jesse N. Smith wrote:

> Parson G. C. Williams with his son-in-law, Peter Dillman came up from Mexico. He was pushed to raise a money payment for his land in Sonora, so he came to raise money on his shares in the ACMI. I took them to Holbrook with my team. Bro. Hulet went by rail to Albuquerque and borrowed $5000 from the bank, and he and I gave our note for $2000 more payable without interest in one and two

years. This closed out the Parson's investment, and he went his way rejoicing.[51]

While all parties were satisfied, the Parson deal did much to concentrate both the ownership and management of the ACMI, as Smith and Hulet appear to have been not only the largest stockholders but were president of the board and superintendent of the business, respectively.

Mormons of the Little Colorado were not oblivious to the power that possession lent the narrowing circle of owners. Joseph Fish, who had been an attendant at the inception of the ACMI and closely connected with it thereafter, made no pretense that his long experience and intimate association, nor yet his position as an important church leader, gave him the right to challenge men who were heavier investors. Caught in a sharp controversy in 1891, he yielded to the opposing faction despite strong feelings of the rightness of his position, because being but "a small shareholder in the business" he "did not feel to oppose the plan."[52] Others had even less say. Ecclesiastical officers, congregational branch stores, and the small stockholders had all been supplanted by a small number of men whose church positions did little to obscure the fact the the ACMI's cooperative claims were increasingly shallow.

Another indication of the ACMI's nature rested in its treatment of profits. The cooperative system outlined by John W. Young in 1879 had conceived of supplier and consumer as cooperating members of a single system in which each was protected and from which each would take his commensurate share of the proceeds. In practice, however, the consumer was never given a dividend. Proceeds accrued to the customer, if at all, in the form of broadened services and reduced prices. Leaving the matter of services which was examined earlier, we may note that commodity prices constituted an index to the coop's practices to which pioneers were not oblivious. Early backers had promised savings up to 25 percent on purchases. These simply never materialized. Once in business, the cooperative stores met competition in their pricing but did not undersell even other small frontier concerns. Frustrated at the distinction between prospects and reality, church members occasionally inveighed against high prices but were as a rule remarkably complacent.[53]

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[51] See Journal of Jesse N. Smith, January 1, 1893, p. 319. For further information relative to the Parson's business, see "Autobiography of Joseph Fish," p. 288.

[52] Ibid.

On occasion, the deeper question of what represented a just distribution of proceeds was also raised. Although rebellion never ran high, local factions sometimes rose in mild protest at what seemed excessively high dividend payments. One such event occurred in Taylor in 1882 where, with the concurrence of the bishop, a privately managed store opened in competition to the cooperative. Justifying their action on the grounds that the coop was charging excessive prices and drawing back undue amounts as dividends, the insurgents yielded only after considerable pressure was brought to bear by the stake president. Of the incident, the latter wrote that he personally "did not wish to be identified with anything that purported to be an institution for the good of the people but was not." Continuing in the same spirit he declared that "the people should have cheap goods," but after this short bow in the direction of service to the people, he concluded with a defense of high prices: "But these little stores run great risks, principally of fire. It is therefore proper that they should have larger dividends than would be the case where investments were more amply secured.[54]

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[53] See "Diary of Allen Frost," January 15, 1891, VI, 2.

High dividends were the norm everywhere among the Little Colorado cooperatives. One of the first things one reads relative to the subject is a report in 1881 that the original store at St. Johns had declared a dividend of 25 percent after its first year in operation. With this handsome profit to recommend the system, investors subscribed the more readily to the later cooperatives.

In the case of the wholesale outlet and the Snowflake coop, at least, shareholders were not disappointed in their expectations of substantial yields, This was especially true of the years before the polygamy disorders. During this time the ACMI with its near monopoly of trade paid as high as 35 percent and never lower than 30 percent.[55] While business deteriorated during the polygamy scare, there is no record of the concern paying less than 20 percent in annual dividends until 1891 when it dropped to 15 percent. By the early ninety's, competition had increased which, coupled with a disastrous drought and the national economic breakdown, resulted in an additional reduction of dividends to 12 percent. The Snowflake store also made good profits for its owners. Even after the crisis of 1885, stockholders received 27 percent. That this was no extraordinary measure declared primarily to meet the needs of destitute shareholders as they came back from Mexico is apparent in the fact that it paid 25 percent two years later. Following this payment, the Snowflake store merged with the parent institution, and the rates noted in connection with the latter were therafter relevant for it as well.

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[54] Journal of Jesse N. Smith, December 30, 1882, p. 267. Smith also noted in this connection that fire insurance was available on the Little Colorado at "reasonable rates" through the Mormon firm of Heber J. Grant and Co.

The foregoing discussion of the division of proceeds and indeed the entire study of the ACMI has in some degree been concerned with its relationship to the church. No thorough examination of this matter will be attempted here, but events that occasionally brought settlers face to face with it do merit some attention. Therefore, reference will be made to one illuminating incident that grew out of the practice of catering to Gentile customers on Sunday.

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[55] It was only by exercise of church authority that it did not go higher. John Standifird noted that "B. Young said the 40 or 50 percent per anum was extravagant in fact outrageous." See "Journals of John Standifird," p. 218.

This practice was especially prevalent after the store returned to Holbrook in 1888. Although Sunday business was not openly solicited to begin with, it grew quite naturally from the needs of the community and practices of the Mormon personnel of the store. Stubbornly eschewing all nonbusiness associations with the Gentile community, Mormons neither brought their families to Holbrook nor boarded in town, but in most cases camped, summer and winter, in the store itself. Unable to make the long trip to their villages each weekend, they whiled away the burdens of isolated Sundays working in the store. Thus, while the front door was closed, the back door stood open. Quickly learning of this, townspeople, ranchers and merchants did their trading on Sundays in such numbers that despite squeamishmess among some of the brethren, the front doors were soon thrown open.

Although Jesse N. Smith was president of the board of directors, he took no action to end the practice in this capacity. Stake authorities, however, with Smith at their head did take steps to end the Sunday trade. After careful consultation, John Bushman, bishop of the St. Joseph Ward and a member of the board of directors, was dispatched to accomplish this purpose. Appearing one June Sabbath in 1893, he demanded the keys and, over the loud protests of Superintendent John R. Hulet, cleared the place of a few customers and locked the door. Thereafter, an uneasy compromise was worked out, and for years the store opened for a half day only on Sunday.[56] Such direct interference was rare. For the most part the ACMI found little conflict between its pretenses of official connection with the church and its business needs.

In summary we may note that while the ACMI was bound to the church in its personnel and in the popular conception of the community, it was also very much a business and accepted many of the values and motives of business. As the years passed, the emphasis initially given to its public nature was perpetuated and sufficient real service was rendered to lend.credence to the theory. On the other hand, economic exigency and the acquisitive drive of the main stockholders resulted in an increasing departure from the premise on which it had been founded. This change in its nature may have been recognized privately but was not accompanied by any major shift in the public utterances where the original communal stress continued. The ACMI with its peculiar confusion of religious commitments on the one hand and its affinity for business practices on the other would thus seem to point to the need of a more careful definition of the relative role of church values and financial considerations in the Mormon cooperative movement than has been developed to this point.

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[56] For the best account of this event, see "Autobiography of Joseph Fish," p. 300. The question did not end with the compromise, and several years later we find the stake high council in a less belligerent mood, appointing a committee to wait upon "Brother Hulet" to request that he close the store on Sunday. See "Lorenzo Hill Hatch Journal, March 1, 1896, p. 208.

CHAPTER VII

LITTLE COLORADO LANDS: MORMON ATTITUDES, PRACTICES, AND PROBLEMS

Introduction

Along with the water necessary to activate it, land was of primary importance to the Little Colorado Mormons. They claimed it, lived on it, made it the basis of their approach to life, and ultimately came to own a few thousand acres of it. In their land relations, these Arizona pioneers revealed much about themselves. Land thus becomes important to this study. Let us now consider the attitudes and relationships that characterized Mormon land practices in northern Arizona.

Three major themes appear. In the first place may be mentioned certain basic ideas about the land that Mormon settlers carried into the territory with them. Intermingled with Mormon faith, these concepts helped constitute the basis on which rested many of their primary economic and political policies including their land practices. To fail to understand this is to miss much of the meaning of why they were on the Little Colorado and to ignore an important key to their conduct.

The second theme was that of cooperation. Throughout the entire period of settlement, communal effort characterized their land practice. Emanating from the highest authority of the church, it profoundly effected the frontier society that developed on the northern Arizona stream. Without this cooperative effort, the land would likely never have been claimed, developed, or held.

Competing claims and the conflict that grew out of them comprised the third feature of the colony's experience with land. Though barren and dry, the Little Colorado was not unwanted. Its value was apparent to Indians, to railroaders, and to stockmen as well as to Mormons. The ordinary friction of land controversy was supercharged by anti-Mormon sentiment on the one hand and a stubborn determination not to yield on the other.

It is in the light of the interplay between these themes that Little Colorado lands will be studied here.

Attitudes

Sufficient emphasis has rarely been given to the importance of Mormon assumptions about the land. Largely ignored by theology and history alike, an underlying commitment to what may be termed a modified Jeffersonian agrarianism profoundly influenced the church during its nineteenth-century experience in the West including the colonization of Arizona.[1] Never consistently worked into Mormon doctrines, this belief bound the church to the land in a narrowly construed alliance. Without concerning ourselves with its consequences, we may here draw attention to a few aspects of the matter which establish the prominent and symbolic position that land held in the minds of Mormons of the generation during which the Little Colorado was settled, the stirrings of which continue to prompt an otherwise urbanized church to embrace a welfare program based upon agricultural production.

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[1] That the Latter-day Saints took to themselves and adapted to their needs certain of the Jeffersonian ideals seems consistent enough. In his The Jefferson Image in the American Mind (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960), Merrill D. Peterson chronicles the versatile utility of Jeffersonian ideas as diverse interests throughout America's history have applied them to their own needs. Furthermore, the Mormons

In considering the sources of the agrarian turn of the Mormon mind, it may be noted that the church not only grew out of the agricultural mold of the American West and partook of many of its values and attitudes, but that it was also consciously patterned after Biblical and Book of Mormon peoples among whom pastoral and agricultural systems existed that were easily adapted to the conditions of the frontier. More practical and utilitarian reasons for the appeal of agrarian ideas existed as well. Perhaps most important among these was the fact that land and an ideology based upon it strengthened and supplemented the prominent Mormon policies of the gathering and isolationism.

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had shared throughout their entire existence in frontier America's struggle with nature, a struggle which according to Daniel Boorstin "had surely shaped the Jeffersonian mind; and through the Jeffersonian tradition and in many other ways it was to affect the whole future character of American thought." The Lost World of Thomas Jefferson (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1948), p. 3. Lowry Nelson in his The Mormon Village: A Pattern and Technique of Land Settlement (Salt Lake City, 1952), pp. 25, 53, gives a brief consideration to the subject of Jeffersonian influences upon the Mormon land system.

Without being exclusively so, the gathering to the safeness of Zion with its emphasis upon withdrawal from a world ripened with iniquity, was antiurban and agrarian in content. Although both the idea and the fact of a central Mormon city were of the utmost importance, the gathering ran counter to the urban movement that characterized the great industrial development of the last decades of the nineteenth century. Finding refuge in the seclusion of Zion's mountain valleys, Mormons left the urban concentrations rather than rushing to them. Mormon immigrants, unlike others of foreign birth, rarely congregated in anything that even vaguely resembled the urban ghettos. The general protest of rural and traditional America at its loss of status before the rising crest of urbanization found a ready place in Mormon propaganda. Vividly portraying the vice and sordidness of city life, missionaries repeatedly called for believers to come out of Babylon before they were caught up in the destruction that was to be visited upon the ungodly. Comprising a near complete catalogue of urban evils, the following indictment which appeared in the Millennial Star in 1861 was not extraordinary:

> Look into the cities of our Christian land, which are flooded with vice. See the thousands of poor despised prostitutes that nightly travel the streets of those cities. Look at the diabolical exhibitions in the domiciles and market-places . . . fighting, swearing, cheating, plundering, drunkenness, indecencies, with a multiplicity of other follies and wickedness. See the multiplied lists of robberies, seductions, infanticides, suicides, and murders continual-

> ly occuring. Of such soulsickening abominations the newspapers furnish the world with a catalogue weekly. This is Babylon.[2]

Continuing, the same writer extolled rural virtues as he called for the "ransomed of the Lord" to "return to the land of" their fathers. Once in the "lofty, pleasant hills" of Zion, they would join in singing to the "goodness of the Lord, for wheat, and for wine, and for oil, and for the young of the flock and of the herd."[3]

Mormon separatism, the end product of the gathering, was also served by agrarian concepts. The reluctance of the church to embrace mining or other industrial and commercial enterprises is well known. The renunciation of these pursuits in favor of subsistence agriculture was in large measure a reflection of the church's effort to perpetuate not only its geographic isolation but to hold the world at arm's length economically and socially as well. Agriculture, with the looseness of its social structure and its independent farmers, raised up few countering loyalties. Thus the Mormon break with the world and the singleness of mind with which the Saints gave themselves to the church were both enhanced by the bond with the soil.

The agrarian thought that a life close to the earth was evocative of the highest human virtues also found its way into Latter-day Saint thinking. Joining the idea with a firm conviction that hard work and frugality contributed to spiritual growth, Mormons were confident that the unproductive lands of their montane kingdom could scarcely have been better calculated to foster the growth of the Saints than they actually were. One writer expressed this widely held sentiment in 1878 when he wrote:

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[2] "Literal Gathering of the House of Israel," Millennial Star, XXIII, 484.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 485.

> The very nature of the country /Utah/ demands that man should exercise his mental and physical strength. . . . True our fields, farms and orchards give forth in rich abundance. . . But the ground has to be petted coaxed and labored upon to give this pleasing result. . . . The gathering place of the Saints is a school in which the Lord is educating a people whom he intends to redeem and use for building up his kingdom.[4]

Thus, not only did agriculture provide the proper schooling for virtuous men, but the peculiar circumstances of Great Basin farming were particularly fitted to school them for a divine calling. Agreeing, Erastus Snow thought that such conditions were the special prerequisites of a powerful and hardy race. Addressing an audience on the Little Colorado as mounting difficulty beset the colony in 1884, he gave meaning to their efforts and reminded them of their preparation to meet the challenges of their mission when he said:

> Our people are an agricultural people and wish to . . . improve and cultive the land. I believe that the Lord has selected this new land for His Saints to gather to, as in thickly populated places wickedness is more prevalent. Here you are not constantly thrown in contact with crime and sin. . . . A race that grows up under

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[4] Ibid., XL, 611-13.

> such circumstances . . . are more powerful and vigorous than other people. Here they will learn the art of self preservation and defense. . . .[5]

As they observed the rise of labor unrest, others wrote and sermonized of the independence and security inherent in the land and decried the growing trend away from it. Such a one was Daniel H. Wells, who attributed the labor discord of 1878 to the failure to apply the land to social problems in the manner that God had intended. From a Provo pulpit he declared:

> There are thousands of broad acres lying uncultivated, and yet men are going without bread to eat. We hear of organizations parading the streets, with banners on which are inscribed the words, 'Give us Bread: Labor or Blood!' There should be no strikes for higher wages--no strife between capital and labor. The labor of men should command a subsistence, and if everything is regulated, as it would be under the government of God, there would be no hard times, no complaints, no strikes no warfare.[6]

Continuing, Wells elaborated that the evils of class conflict were the product of dependence and day work. By taking out a "piece of land," he declared any man could acquire

> the nucleus of his prosperity, wealth, and comparative independence. Subsequently he gathers around him the comforts of life: he gets a cow, a pig or two and a few chickens. This position in life is much more self-reliant and independent than employment by the day, week or the month in cities or overcrowded business centres. There, when a day's labor stops the supply stops: but when you have your source of supply, and your labor temporarily fails, you

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[5] Journal of Jesse N. Smith, p. 293.

[6] Journal of Discourses, XIX, 369.

> still have plenty of grain, and other produce of the farm by which you can get along.[7]

Devoid of poetic flights or idyllic pictures, the relationship of land to God's plan and its effect in producing independent and self-reliant men was rarely more directly stated.

Making little distinction between the temporal of the present and the spiritual of the hereafter, it is not surprising that Mormons sometimes carried agrarian values into their speculations about the life to come. A soaring example of this was Orson Pratt's merging of agrarianism and millenialism when he brushed aside the veil of paradise to visualize a heavenly scene rising straight out of the Mormon social matrix. Containing no happy future for the sea industries, his millennial formula neatly accommodated contemporary land practices. Forecasting the number that were to enter God's kingdom, he reasoned:

> If one per cent of all this imensity of population shall, through obedience to the Gospel, become lawful heirs to the earth, then there will be over one hundred and fifty acres for every soul. If the new earth contains only the same proportion of land as the old, there would be about forty acres for every redeemed soul. But the new earth is represented by the Apostle John, as being without seas, which increases its capacity for inhabitants above the old fourfold The farmer who is looking forward to the new earth for his everlasting inheritance, need have no fears of being too much limited in his possessions. There will be ample room for the delightful pursuits of the agriculturist. He can have his pleasuregrounds; his orchards of the most delicious fruits; his gardens decorated with the loveliest flowers, and still have land enough for the raising of the

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[7] *Ibid.*, p. 370

> more staple articles, such as manna to eat, and flax for the making of fine robes, etc.[8]

Obviously capable of idyllic flights, Mormons were more often earthbound in their theorizing about the values of the agrarian life. Of primary import in this context is the fact that they deemed agricultural pursuits to be essentially constructive. Sharply aware of the exploitative methods of Gentile mining and commercial interests, though less so of their own increasingly destructive grazing industry, they regarded such activities as being of a negative and retrogressive nature. Indicative of this frame of mind was Daniel H. Wells' comment that it was not the industry of outsiders that built up the country but that the material advance of Utah was to be attributed only to

> the labors of the Saints, guided and directed by the almighty. It is they who are to be found in the nooks and corners--in all directions --wherever there is a spring or a bit of land--building up, making the earth bring forth its products, and strengthening and enlarging the borders of Zion.[9]

Wells was confident that when the territory then available to the Latter-day Saints had been fully improved, the inevitable progress of God's kingdom would permit the extension of these sanative works to other areas.

Thus, not only did land provide the milieu in which man's good qualities flourished, but, by proper ministrations, man enhanced the land. Mormons, including those who shoveled sand into the Little Colorado, found an almost divine meaning in their desert diggings. The reclamation of barren wastes along with the enlargement of Zion were conceived to be complementary elements in the building of God's kingdom. As such, efforts expended in making the desert habitable could expect God's special blessings. Men could anticipate both inspiration to guide their labors and divine transformation of the elements. Writing in the Millennial Star in 1884, J. H. Ward called attention to the change from dreary and monotonous wastes "to fruitful fields, smiling gardens and happy homes" wrought in the thirty-seven years Mormons had been in the Great Basin. Focusing upon the divine element in this joint accomplishment, he wrote:

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[8] _Ibid_., I, 333.

[9] _Ibid_., XIX, 370.

> The blessings of God have rested upon the efforts of the pioneers in reclaiming the desert. Many streams have been greatly increased in volume, and in some places new springs have burst forth in the desert. In some places where, twenty years ago, there was scarcely water sufficient for the needs of a few families, now there are large streams capable of irrigating thousands of acres. The rainfall has greatly increased in some localities. A few years ago it was considered impossible to raise crops without irrigation; now quite a proportion of the land under cultivation is tilled without artificial irrigation.[10]

Settlers on the Little Colorado looked hopefully for climatic changes during the entire period of their colonization. Looking, some of them found change. Declaring that "the rigor of the seasons" would be toned down, Jesse N. Smith wondered "why others could not see . . .

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[10] "Utah, Past and Present," Millennial Star, XLVI, 520-22.

anything extraordinary in what to "him seemed remarkable."[11] The terrible winds that characterized the region were said to be abating or the rain increasing. To some, change was swift and sure, apparent in the heavy rains that came almost immediately after James Stinson's Silver Creek ranch had been purchased by William J. Flake. Flake's faith is implicit in an exchange that is said to have occurred between Stinson and himself when the former warned:

> "You won't have enough water. I use it all, and then don't have enough in the dry season." To this Flake replied, "When the Mormons come, the water will increase." Shortly after that the rains came, and it kept coming. They had a hard time gathering the barley and beans, and lost some on account of rain. Stinson said, "I wish the hell the Mormons had stayed away until I had my crop gathered."[12]

Others, particularly those on the lower river whose lot cast them in a continuing struggle for water, had more difficulty in seeing beneficent changes in nature. Some of these, however, including tough old Lot Smith, never questioned divinity's role in such climatic change nor that Utah's climate had been transformed. Rather they searched self-consciously for failures of their own that had occasioned what in their eyes was a deviation from the norm.

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[11] Journal of Jesse N. Smith, p. 354. Alteration of the elements in Utah was a frequent topic in Little Colorado meetings. Typical was the report of one pioneer of Toquerville in the Virgin Basin that when George A. Smith promised more water, there it came, and where there were only four or five families there sprang up a settlement of seventy families. Ibid., p. 349.

[12] Flake, pp. 74-75.

Although they usually took the fertility of the land for granted, Little Colorado colonists were confident that in due time the Lord would also cause it to produce more abundantly for the sake of the "righteous." It was not anticipated, however, that this regeneration would ensue without the honest effort of those who occupied it. Reflecting this point of view, the following remarks by Jesse N. Smith were delivered as the drought and low yields of 1886 compounded troubles rising from the Arizona polygamy raids:

> This is a forbidding land; the indignation of the Lord rests upon lands where He has been forgotten. It becomes our duty to sanctify the places where we dwell. We cannot expect these changes to be made in a moment but if we do our duty there will be a gradual change for the better. Have seen the land in Utah redeemed from its sterility by the labor of godly men and women and we have reason to expect like results here.[13]

Along with such attitudes, the Mormons also entertained certain economic convictions about the land. Perhaps the most frequently voiced of these was the recognition that viable land and manageable water were limited in Utah. New frontiers had to be opened. The logic of the situation was set forth simply and without undue anxiety by Apostle Joseph F. Smith at a stake conference on the Little Colorado in 1884. Assuring the colonists that their isolation from the larger Mormon community was rapidly passing as the church spread, he continued: "It is better for a man beginning in life to commence in a new place. It is difficult already for a young man to make a new stand in Salt Lake Valley. As we increase we want more land."[14]

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[13] Journal of Jesse N. Smith, p. 330.

As seen in an earlier chapter, this need for land had been among the primary forces that had revived the southward thrust of Mormon colonization after the end of the Navajo wars in 1870. Colonists themselves rarely forgot their role as the architects of new opportunity. After years in Arizona, one early immigrant wrote: "There had to be secure and permanent expansion. They couldn't all live in Utah and those pioneers considered it their mission in life to develop new country and lay a foundation upon which their children could build."[15]

Perhaps the most practical measure of the Latter-day Saint commitment to the land, as well as a key to the ultimate collapse of insular Mormondom, lay in the failure of land to play the role they anticipated it would in the lives of the rising generation. Devoted to education, Mormons of the Little Colorado labored to establish schools and sent their young people to Utah to study, but they do not appear to have seen this as a practical matter of preparation for a profession removed from the land. Still guided by dreams of a temporal kingdom whose finite bounds and flourishing oases were raised as an offering by their own labors of reclamation, they had not yet succumbed to the material promise of a better life through practical education but conceived of learning as a matter of character molding that broadened and strengthened the indivisual whose future, like that of the kingdom, still lay in the land. In the early years, vicissitudes of pioneering were bearable because moral and economic opportunity for the succeeding generations lay in the new lands that were opened. Later, as the period of pioneering closed and lands free for the taking became harder to find, aging Little Colorado pioneers stressed education but struggled to hold both their children and an essential of their way of life by arranging for land on which to settle the young.

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[14] Ibid., p. 295.

[15] Evans Coleman, "Historical Sketch of Dr. W. E. Platt," Coleman Papers, APHS. In the same connection, Coleman recounts a conversation he had with a Graham County Arizonian who came into the country as a boy, in which the latter recalled a conversation with his own father. Asked by the boy what had led him into such a Godforsaken country, the old man replied:

> "Son, I know they ain' nothing here now. But I'm vision' the future. Right here, son, where we'er drivin right now, in a few years they'll be fields an' orchards and homes, an they'll be churches and schools an' a railroad, an sawmills back in that mountain. An' son, you mark my word: they wont be a water hole around the foot of them Graham mountains that someone wont own. An they'll be ditches brung out from the river an' this here whole valley will be teemin' with agricultural activity. An you'll see it son. Me an maw was looking for a place where you could develop an build not only finances, but character. No, son, we wasnt thinking of ourselves, me an maw, we was thinking of you. An son, they jist aint no place on God's green earth where a boy can build character, either good or bad like he can right here in Arizona."

Coleman concluded, "that was the spirit that actuated the pioneer, "visioning the future.'" Ibid.

Inevitably their efforts failed. The elements, obdurate, did not moderate under their prayerful ministrations. Only less hostile than the elements, social conditions frustrated the outward stretching thrusts which were necessary in this desert region to satisfy opportunity's demands. Schooled without practical preparation in mind, the young found the landed homes of their elders' conception foreclosing. Their rising numbers forced them into the broader society of the surrounding community, to which, because of the stress on education, they were not unfitted. Herein, more than in the sundering of the Mormon kingdom before the mounting pressure of the United States lay an end to Mormon isolation

However, through the period of this study, the growing kingdom and agrarian isolation joined to make the retention of the Little Colorado lands seem an imperative. Considering that they pinned their hopes of controlling the Little Colorado to agricultural practices unbacked by any effort, other than that of John W. Young to regulate the broader industrial development of the region, Mormon accomplishments were not unimpressive.

Cooperation, Small Holding, and Villages

In the move to the Little Colorado as in the founding of Utah settlements, the agrarian village and small-holding pattern was followed. Well suited to the dictates of oasis agriculture, these practices resulted in a subsistence as contrasted to speculative agriculture which complimented the Mormon policies of separatism and isolation.

Most Little Colorado pioneers were thoroughly conversant with the small-holding and village systems when they entered the region.

The estimates of the population it would carry which are sprinkled throughout the correspondence of their colonization seem on casual observation to be almost fantastically optimistic. Along with a certain amount of promotional license, these estimates were based on two considerations, in the light of which their exaggeration is less marked. The one, referred to above, was a determined faith that the elements would moderate, increasing the country's capacity. The other, more practical, was a realistic calculation of the subsistence potential of irrigated land under the small-holding system. Placing less emphasis upon profit, they expected quite different things from their land than the characteristic settler. The building of the kingdom and more immediately the establishment of a Mormon community were the primary objectives. The same hunger for Zion that led to the gathering stirred profound yearnings for "the company of the Saints," and the sweetest dream of the immigrants was of an expansion of the kingdom that would place them again in the bosom of the church. The distinction between Mormon values in this respect and general frontier attitudes was clearly portrayed in the following exchange which is said to have taken place between William J. Flake and James Stinson as the latter's consternation mounted when a string of improvident Mormons straggled onto the property he had just sold Flake. Stinson said:

> "Now Mr. Flake, there is just enough water here for this small farm. If you will keep the place for your family alone, you will have a fine place, but if you let anyone else in, you will all starve."

> Flake said, "You could not give me the place, if I had to live here that way. I am going to have a town and farm all of the land."[16]

In this frame of mind, Little Colorado colonists submitted to sharp restriction in the acreages they held. Those that took land, whether they squatted on railroad lands, homesteaded, or bought out prior claims as Flake had done, usually did it in anticipation that they would be joined by others. Claims were established by trusted men who were warned to eschew all private speculation. Occasionally they broke ranks, but to a surprising degree they preferred the interest of the kingdom and the company of an enlarged Mormon community to profits that might accrue from large holdings or, we should add, were unable because of poverty or social pressure to break with the pattern.[17]

Most settlers held only twenty or thirty acres of ground. The order villages rarely farmed more than 350 acres and in some cases less. Divided among the members of the orders, this amount may have approximated twenty acres per family but was often less. Elsewhere, holdings varied up to forty acres but rarely exceeded that amount. In Snowflake, for example, each family was limited to a town lot (one for each wife for the polygamists) and twenty acres in two ten-acre plots of varying value. Later, the tight land situation may have loosened somewhat as improvements and the government surveys opened more ground, but the advantage so gained was largely offset by large families and continued immigration. As a result, the population remained high in relation to the acres that were actually farmed.

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[16] Flake, p. 74.

[17] The Arizona colony submitted rather tamely to this situation and very few cases of internal strife rising from land disputes are found in the history of the mission. Elsewhere, on the southern frontier there was pressure to break step and take larger unauthorized claims. Such was the case in Kanab where Stake President L. John Nuttall, after outlining a new development in Kanab Canyon to Bishop W. D. Johnson, deemed it necessary to add: "Those who shall take an opposite course than this, must be looked upon as apostates, disreputable, dishonest people, living outside for the purpose of living on the property of others, and cannot be held in fellowship with the Saints." See letter of February 22, 1880, L. John Nuttall Letter Press Book #1, BYU, pp. 146-48.

The original cost of the land varied from nothing at the United Order settlements on the lower river to substantial prices in other key places. The earliest settlers either squatted or purchased claims from established ranchers. In case of the latter, small out-of-the-way claims with few improvements and little water were to be had at very moderate costs--perhaps a cow or two or a span of mules and an old harness with total value not exceeding $100. Under such circumstances, the actual farming land with improvements likely cost no more than $1.50 an acre. Larger strategically located spots were at a premium and prices ranged up to what seemed like staggering sums of $11,000 and $15,000 for the Snowflake and St. Johns claims. Under the original terms, the average price per acre for farming land at these two places came to $8.50 and $8.00, respectively, but as we shall see the cost was much higher before clear titles were obtained.

"Utah cows" served as the most common medium of exchange. Highly regarded in a country where scrubby wild cattle had been the only stock, these animals from yearlings up, with sucking calves thrown in, were valued at $20. Thus the Snowflake deal involved 550 head and the original St. Johns purchase, 750. To meet the payments of those early years, it was necessary to supplement privately owned herds. Consequently substantial numbers of cattle were drawn from tithing herds on the Little Colorado and at the church's Pipe Springs ranch.[18]

Although the Mormons arrived in the country early, they found that the better places had already been claimed. As a consequence of their determination to settle on the Little Colorado, a seller's market quickly came to prevail, with original claimants pushing up their prices in the face of demand. The Mormons endeavored to reduce the disadvantages of this situation by buying most of their land through agents of whom the most important was likely William J. Flake, who after the successful consummation of the Stinson purchase became the self-designated purchasing agent for hundreds of incoming colonists.[19] Between his original deal in 1878 and 1903 when Henry Huning at Showlow sold the last of the large ranches on Silver Creek to him, Flake was instrumental in most of the important land trades. This was particularly true of the years before 1881 when, with the exception of the St. Johns land purchase, he traded for all the sites that became towns.[20] These included part or all of the land on which Snowflake, Taylor, Shumway, Concho, Nutrioso, Eager, and Showlow grew. He apparently made these early deals and at least two later transactions in the interest of the community, dividing the holdings at Snowflake with fifty-four other settlers and

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[18] At a later date, Little Colorado tithing herds were drawn from to help establish settlers in Mexico as well as to buy out railroad grant rights to the land on which many settlers lived. See Journal of Jesse N. Smith, pp. 346-47.

[19] Interestingly, Flake felt that he had been called to this capacity in a dream in which he was visited by Brigham Young, then deceased for over a year. This had taken place during a period of social ostracism rising out of Flake's breach with the United Order to buy the Stinson land. Comforted and later sustained by Erastus Snow, he thereafter

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made it his business to trade for likely claims as they came open. See Flake, pp. 77-78.

Regular church officers also served in this capacity. In addition to buying land, they acted as clearing agents controlling the distribution of land at the settlements and directing would-be purchasers to acceptable lands. One correspondent clearly indicated the role played for the St. Johns area by Bishop D. K. Udall when he wrote the Deseret News in 1881 saying:

> "Plenty of land for all who are called, but none should come expecting to get land without paying for it, as the land has been purchased and is held in trust by the bishop for those who come to purchase at the rates stated in my last letter (The five acre lots near town rate at $11 per acre. The farming land from $6 to $9 per acre according to location.) There are also four or five good stock ranches for sale at reasonable rates within 25 miles of this place. They can be had on application to Bishop D. K. Udall."

See Deseret News, June 29, 1881.

[20] Flake's reputation as a colonist, rather too fervently promoted by his descendants, was acknowledged throughout the Mormon community on the Little Colorado. Writing late in his life, one admiring reporter congratulated him and the community on his continued vigor and then concluded with characteristic deference to the role he had played: "When he does go, do not place any patent epitaph over his grave but say: 'He bought ranches; he made towns.'" George H. Crosby, Jr., in the Snowflake Herald as quoted by Flake, p. 120.

turning the other places over outright to new colonists. According to contemporary reports, his original $11,000 outlay on the Stinson purchase was prorated in $200 assessments as the land itself was parceled out. Most of his other purchases are also said to have been resold at cost. As circumstances often resulted in his being forced to take his pay in "chips and whetstones," his service to the community was rendered at something of a personal loss.[21]

The towns that replaced the ranches as the colony grew were another essential element in Little Colorado land-holding patterns. Among the first missionaries sent to the country was Samuel G. Ladd, a surveyor who, in company with Erastus Snow and other church leaders, located townsites. These were situated within easy access of water and laid off in the characteristic "City of Zion" grids with wide streets and ample building lots. Fields lay adjacent under common fences or open, as even where private holding prevailed individuals rarely if ever fenced their own land until a relatively late date.

The needs of all little Colorado colonists were not satisfied by the village and small-holding system. Indeed, as we have seen elsewhere, strong currents of dissatisfaction resulted in heavy migration from the colony. Movement from one piece of land to another within the community was also common. Though profoundly aware of the land, and bound by religious commitments and strategic considerations, many of the colonists also displayed a marked casualness toward any particular piece of land. Failing to satisfy their economic wants, many of them, even the most faithful, moved from one spot to the other with an amazing frequency. The record of early settlement is replete with incidents of families moving four or five times, trading and selling their land, seeking advantages of one kind or another in the move. The more mobile flitted around the colony's periphery, camping briefly here and then there, their isolation rendered nearly complete by desert miles or the timber of the upcountry.

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[21] See Fish, "History of the Eastern Arizona Stake . . . , p. 39.

Always a matter of deep concern to leaders, such centrifugal tendencies were met by various means. Characteristic were the official pleas to maintain the integrity of the villages and hold onto the land in their immediate vicinity. Writing to Lot Smith in 1877, Brigham Young presented the official case as follows:

> That which gathers together, builds up, beautifies, strengthens unites and enobles is of God; and that which separates, destroys, scatters and tears in pieces is of the opposite power. Petitions to scatter have been received for the avowed purpose of securing the most valuable places of location. We want to get good places but . . . our first aim has been to fairly establish good permanent settlements. . . . We need have no fears about the gentiles getting all the best places for location in Arizona, or New Mexico. . . . It is a remarkable fact that the first settlers of a new country very often fail to select the most desireable places. . . . If brethren will be content to follow the guidance of the holy spirit they will have the best places.[22]

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[22] Letter of January 10, 1877, Lot Smith Papers, UA.

Scattering, however, was a continuing aspect of the colony and a continuing official theme was its denunciation.

Of graver concern, particularly as corporate groups forced their way into the country, was the practice of leaving claims unattended. The polygamy raids making a certain amount of this necessary, the Saints were cautioned not to leave their land until someone was found to fill their places. As the challenge intensified, "the selling of the inheritances of the Saints to the gentiles" became a real problem. The stake presidency quickly condemned the practice, officially stating that all of them were expected to hold their "real estate forever or else transfer it according to the consent and advice of the authorities of the Church."[23] At the time of this statement (1883), transfer according to the consent of the authorities was tantamount to sale within the church even if at disadvantageous terms. Evidently this threat was successfully met, as no other reference is found of transfer of Mormon claims to Gentile interests. The loss of the colony's land base by internal erosion was averted, but, challenged from various quarters, it became increasingly apparent that many of the Mormon claims were of a questionable nature.

The Problems of Persistence

The primary threat was posed by other claimants, in the main large companies, as they contested the Mormon right to the land they occupied. Both less sensational and less bitter than the controversy rising out of polygamy, the collision over land nevertheless held in it the seeds of defeat. Had the problem not been successfully resolved, it seems certain it would have led to the dissolution of the colony.

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[23] See "Lorenzo Hill Hatch Journal," p. 135 and Journal of Jesse N. Smith, p. 276.

To a measure, the history of this conflict is that of the general western land controversy. Armed with early grants, good lawyers, and other advantages of their corporate size including when necessary a certain amount of coercion, big companies were pitted against the ubiquitous squatter in whose interest a latent sympathy was beginning to assert itself in government circles and elsewhere as our story unfolded in the late 1870's and the 1880's. But unlike settlers elsewhere, the Little Colorado Mormons found order and strength in their common interests and in the organization of the church. Adamant in its determination to maintain itself on this new frontier, the church's size and resources somewhat offset the advantages held by the companies. Its means, including new settlers, legal and financial aid, and a consistent and centrally located policy, were all employed in behalf of Mormon claims.

A word about the nature of these claims should be interjected here. Early locations, with few exceptions, were based on squatter's rights. None of the land was surveyed or opened to the market prior to 1879. Beginning in that year, surveying had not yet been completed in 1888. Consequently, most of their claims, both those they took up themselves and those that they bought from other squatters, were tentative. Furthermore, since legal routine lagged behind the advance of the frontier, a good deal of informality characterized their earliest customs. In this situation, possession was, temporarily at least, nine points of the law. Mormon settlements, with their village and field pattern, left little question as to possession and withstood invasion in all but the most hotly contended spots. When permanent occupation proved impossible, indications of intent were also of primary importance. To seasonally occupied ranches and herdgrounds, rights were asserted by controlling the water and building cabins and sheep troughs, or other signs of occupancy. Most of the ordinary subterfuges of land entry were practiced. Of early events in the locality of Bush Valley, later Alpine, one pioneer wrote:

> It was customary at that time if a man wanted to settle in what he considered a desirable spot for him to express the same by cutting four logs as if he were going to build a house, lay those logs as if they were the foundation for a house, cut a hole at one end of the enclosure for a door, and his claim stood. Everybody considered that any man who would jump that claim was not a good citizen. . . . Others in '79 went up in what was called Williams Valley and put up a notice reading: "We claim this valley for dairy purposes." That constituted a bona fide claim.[24]

Though discouraged by the official entreaties to locate at the central villages, such practices were likely inevitable under conditions of the era.

When it was necessary to buy out established ranchers, a primary consideration was always the claim of the previous settlers. In most cases, these claims were of recent origin. Too often they were also vague and unreliable. About the best that could be hoped for was that the previous claimant would leave the country, enabling the new owner to make the most of the claim.

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[24] Evans Coleman, "Land Transactions in the Eighties," Coleman Papers, APHS, p. 1.

Resting thus on tenuous claims, Mormon land rights were subject to contest from the first. Indeed, between a midwinter visit by explorer James E. Brown and the arrival of the first missionaries on March 21, 1876, five settlers had located at one of the spots designated by Brown for settlement. Three years later, John W. Young and Wilford Woodruff visited a claim that Young had purchased at Leroux Springs only to find his cabin occupied by two men who maintained they had bought it from a Dr. Vail. Ignoring the possibility that they may have been telling the truth, Young took direct action, unceremoniously dumping them along with their wagon and belongings outside the property line.[25] The railroad's coming sharpened interest in the lands of the

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[25] See "Wilford Woodruff's Journal," April 22, 1879, CHO. The most embittered disputes between Mormons and Gentile squatters, however, occurred at St. Johns. The Mexican settlers early warned the Mormons that they regarded their influx to be a threat. In part this was the result of the fact that the Barth claim was vague, with other claimants feeling that he had sold something he had no claim to; in part it was the reflection of the general spirit of discord that permeated the community. Confronted by an armed and determined effort to expel them from St. Johns during the early summer of 1884, the Mormons with Bishop D. K. Udall at their head seemed ready to meet the threat of violence with violence. Cooler heads prevailed, and after a momentary bristling, they resorted to more characteristic expedients. Prayer circles convened and

San Francisco Mountains area. Competition became so keen during the spring of 1881 that a number of men were killed and others were threatened, including several Mormon settlers. In May Jesse N. Smith wrote John W. Young that some of his springs and his ranch (likely the one at Leroux Springs) had been jumped. Concluding that there existed "a reign of terror throughout the mountains," he advised Young to reinforce the men holding his claims, as their lives were "in great danger."[26] Young, who later founded Arizona's first big cattle company in the same area, successfully held his property.

This menace and others emanating from squatters and small ranchers were effectively dealt with. Indeed, the Mormons by a gradual encroachment took over most of the squatter's claims that were suited to their needs until by the end of the century only St. Johns and Round Valley could boast Gentile farming communities, and in each of these a modus vivendi had been worked out whereby Mormons and Gentiles shared the land. Other claims, better founded legally and pressed by large organizations, proved to be more resistant to the Mormon advance.

Most important were the claims rising out of the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad grant. Unlike peripheral Indian claims, these struck

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a quick call for an additional one hundred settlers was circulated throughout Utah; shortly the beleaguered spot was reinforced. See "Autobiography of Joseph Fish," p. 204.

[26] Letter of May 2, 1881, John W. Young Railroad File 1881-1886, CHO.

straight through the heart of the Mormon settlements. Paralleling the Little Colorado for miles in its course through northern Arizona, the odd-numbered sections of the railroad grant laid a hundred-mile checkerboard across the territory. The main Mormon settlements fell within this area. Inevitably, much of the land necessary to their existence was found to lie on odd-numbered sections.[27]

By the original act of 1866 which authorized the 35th parallel railroad, Congress had offered as an aid to construction twenty alternate odd-numbered sections per mile on either side of the track in the states and forty in the territories.[28] However, prior grants, reservations, and claims within the railroad's place limits were not extinguished. To compensate the company for these losses, Congress also designated ten-mile indemnity areas on either side of the grant from which lieu lands could be chosen. Considered as an incentive, the grant was earned as track was laid. To ensure a speedy completion of work, Congress provided in the eighth section of the act:

> That each and every grant, right and privilege herein are so made and given to and accepted by the said Atlantic and Pacific Railroad Company upon and subject to the following conditions, namely: That the said company shall commence the work on said road within two years from the approval of this act by the President, and shall complete not less than fifty miles per year after the second year,

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[27] For maps showing the land grant areas, see Greever, pp. 30-31.

[28] U.S., Congressional Globe, 39th Cong., 1st Sess., 1100-1102, 4182. Also see U.S., Statutes at Large, XIV, 292.

> and shall construct, equip, furnish and complete the main line of the whole road by the fourth day of July, anno Domini 1878.[29]

In spite of the straightforward wording used in this clause, the Atlantic and Pacific, which fell years behind the schedule in its construction work, lost very little grant land. In large measure this was due to the fact that, following a practice that dated back to the first land grant in 1823, Congress omitted effective provisions for making final adjustment of the grant.[30] Since none of the many land grants made during the interim had ever been officially terminated, the railroad had little trouble in taking title to most of its grant when the track was belatedly completed. As the completion date in 1878 came and went with the road still unfinished, the company buttressed its position by arguing that an 1871 act of Congress approving a plan to mortgage the entire property of the railroad was tantamount to an extension of time for completing construction. Although this strained view was denied by the Supreme Court in the 1887 case of the A & P v. Mingus, most of the grant survived all challenges.[31] In 1881 determined congressional attempts to recover unearned lands east of Isletta and west of Needles were beaten back. Weathering yet another frontal attack upon its grant lands in Congress in 1884, the A & P was finally penalized for its failure to meet the congressional timetable the following year when General Land Commissioner William Sparks' action revoking unearned lands from Ventura to San Francisco was upheld.[32] At no time, however, except in the conversation and minds of the Mormon colonists and other interlopers, was the railroad's right to its Arizona lands seriously questioned.

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[29] Ibid. Italics original.

[30] As Secretary of Interior William F. Vilas noted in 1888 in a proposal to revoke the executive order of withdrawal from homestead and pre-emption entry that had been issued for the indemnity lands of the Atlantic and Pacific and other companies, statute books showed that:

> "Since 1823 Congress had made many such grants for wagon-roads, canals, river improvements and railroads. And during the sixty-five years which have passed since that date not one of the grants has been declared to be finally adjusted."

U.S., House Executive Document #246, 50th Cong., 1st. Sess., 4.

Since the rights of the railroad and contesting claims both turned upon it, another important point was the question of when the grant became valid. The original act had placed all lands that had earlier been "granted, sold, reserved, occupied by homestead settlers, or pre-empted or otherwise disposed of" beyond the reach of the company by specifying that the grant did not attach until a plat showing "the line of said road" was filed in the Office of the Commissioner of the General Land Office."[33] In practice prior to the year 1883, the time of the survey of a railroad route in the field had been regarded as the date of definite location after which the company's rights obtained. However, in the case of Van Wyck v. Knevals of that year, the Supreme Court held that the date of definite location was when a map approved by the Secretary of Interior was filed with him.[34] The rights of settlers and other claimants were thus not cut off until that time. Consequently, a map received by the Secretary of Interior of March 12, 1872, was considered to mark the attachment of grant lands including those on the Little Colorado to the Atlantic and Pacific Company. This date preceded all Mormon claims except at St. Johns and Round Valley where rights established before March of 1872 had been purchased.

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[31] Atlantic and Pacific v. Mingus, 165 (U.S.), 413 (1887).

[32] Greever, pp. 34-35.

[33] U.S., Statutes at Large, XIV, 292.

The railroad's troubles incident to managing this vast landed empire were many, and, during the nineteenth century at least, the proceeds small. In the first place, prior claims proved to be both substantial and problematic. According to a brief prepared in 1888, private grants and reservations amounted to some 3.3 million acres of the 14.4 million total in Arizona and New Mexico. Since land still available in the indemnity strips was calculated at less than 1.5 million acres, the company obviously stood to lose heavily.[35] The company, as it finally proved, was able to assert its claim to all but 1.4 million acres of its grant for which it was properly indemnified.

The railroad also suffered from the activity of interlopers. To the company it seemed that squatters including the Mormons gave no thought to who owned the ground. Protected by the physical circumstances of the West and a growing sympathy for the small man, interlopers were generally immune from efforts either to limit their invasions or to exact lease fees from them once they were on the land. The Indians, too, were a sore vex to the company, with the Navajos, who by 1893 occupied nearly two million of its acres, constituting a particular problem.

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[34] Van Wyck v. Knevals, 106 (U.S.), 369 (1883).

[35] See Greever, p. 37. U.S., House Executive Document #246, 16-17.

Such difficulties were matched by the problems of obtaining legal title from the government. The failure of the United States to complete its survey of the area as per the original contract confused matters and added greatly to the likelihood of settlement by interlopers. Difficulty with the government was likewise encountered when the company applied for titles and when it sought to make selections in the indemnity strips. Thus, for a variety of reasons, the railroad and other large holders who bought property of it were for years unable to acquire title to the grant lands. In the interim, possession and precedent were on the side of the interloper.

To manage these complexities, the railroad hired former U.S. Land Commissioner James A. Williamson in 1881 shortly after he left his federal post. Thereafter all such questions moved through him. As land agent he followed a policy consistently hostile to farmers and other small holders.[36] Little Colorado settlers, from their first correspondence with him while he was still in the General Land Office, were given little show of sympathy.

From his point of view, they were entitled to little sympathy. Their's had not been a blind entry into the country. Aware of the Atlantic and Pacific grant, Brigham Young had directed colonists to the Little Colorado River knowing full well that any claims they might establish there would be subject to challenge. Bespeaking confidence that some sort of adjustment permitting them to remain in the country could be worked out regardless of where legal rights lay, Brigham Young's action and the subsequent course of Mormon colonization was notably lacking in any sense of the railroad's point of view.

Initially colonists had seemed to be almost oblivious to the railroad as they focused upon the problems of taking physical possession of the land. However, as these problems were solved, they turned to the remaining task of acquiring clear titles. After 1881 frequent inquiries were addressed to Williamson, almost all of which were answered in an unsatisfactory manner. At St. Joseph, for example, repeated "applications," according to one interested party, had "the squelcher effectually put upon" them. Replying to one application, Williamson's assistant Thomas S. Sedgewick dashed the modest aspirations of St. Joseph colonists who quailed before the financial burden of buying even one section when he wrote:

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[36] Along with the obvious matter of the convenience of large transactions, Williamson's lack of interest in any kind of a colonization program is said to have rested upon his reluctance "to take responsibility of inducing persons of small means" to undertake farming operations in this arid country. Quoted by Greever, p. 49.

Although the land department of the railroad regarded the Mormon colonists as at best a nuisance, the traffic division displayed quite a different face. During the entire period of colonization, cordial relations existed and great numbers of Mormons were given clergy rates on the Atlantic and Pacific and through its office on other roads connecting to Salt Lake City. L. H. Hatch acted as agent for the church in procuring half-rate fares. See "Lorenzo Hill Hatch Journal," pp. 138-40 and elsewhere.

> In response to so much of your letter addressed to Mr. F. U. Smith Genl Supt. on the 4th of August as refers to policy of sales of our grant lands, I am but recently (since the date of your letter) informed by the Land Commissioner that the company will for the present consider only the sale of tracts of 100,000 acres.[37]

Although the St. Joseph matter was long held in abeyance, Jesse N. Smith was able to extract a grudging promise from Williamson and Sedgewick that the citizens of Snowflake and Taylor would be given the first chance to buy the land on which they lived. Hoping that this represented a shift in the company's attitude that would ultimately enable them to acquire title at reasonable prices, Smith and his associates continued to seek other means of bolstering their claims. Among the expedients employed were periodic efforts to enter the Mormon claims at various local land offices under homestead, pre-emption or townsite provisions. However, these hopes were futile, as no land agents proved unwary enough to enter claims for them.

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[37] It is of interest to note that in the entire twelve-year course of Williamson's tenure as Land Commissioner he made only one sale of this size, the Aztec Land and Cattle Company. Others ranged down to a few hundred acres. See letter to John W. Young from John McLaws, et al. under date of May 31, 1884, and letter of T. S. Sedgwick to J. H. Richards, August 16, John W. Young Personal File 1880-87, CHO.

The history of Mormon land relations entered a new phase in 1884. During that year, the Aztec Land and Cattle Company bought over 100,000 acres of the Atlantic and Pacific land grant.[38] The purchase involved most of the railroad's holdings south of the track between Silver Creek on the east and Flagstaff on the west. Paying fifty cents an acre for railroad sections, the Hashknife, as the Aztec Company was locally known, trailed in 17,000 head of Texas cattle and shipped in an additional 23,000. Soon vast herds were ranging throughout the entire region with no concern for section numbers or place limits. Following the herds came Texas cowboys behind whom the Aztec Company soon took over virtual control of northern Arizona.

As far as the story of Mormon problems was concerned, the Aztec reign may be divided into two parts. The first phase was one of intimidation and strong-arm tactics. The second was less belligerent though equally inimical to Mormon interests, as the company first ordered that odd sections be evacuated and then demanded that they be purchased at inflated prices.

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[38] Of the Aztec Company, William S. Greever writes:

"The capital stock of the Aztec, originally set at $963,100, was owned as follows: Atchison, $215,500; certain members of the Atchison Board of Directors, $200; J. & W. Seligman and Company, $241,000; /the latter was a law firm which handled much legal business for both the Atlantic and Pacific and the Aztec Company/ some people connection with the Seligman firm, $4,000; and others (in large part Texas ranchers), $502,400.

See p. 46.

Coinciding with the polygamy scare of 1884 and 1885, the advent of the Aztec Company found the Mormons particularly vulnerable. Launching an immediate campaign to force them out of the country together with all smaller outfits and sheep men, the Hashknife loosed a set of hoodlums who threw off all control. Running wild, they rustled thousands of animals, including so many of the Hashknife's that it was ultimately forced to make land and not cattle its primary business.[39] In the face of this general assault which soon erupted as the Pleasant Valley War between contending gangs of cowboys and sheepmen, outlying Mormons were forced to abandon their claims and fall back into the stronger communities. Early in 1887, settlers of the mountain towns of Wilford and Heber, which had been located five years before on the railroad's lieu lands, were given ten days to evacuate. Their numbers depleted by polygamy problems, they complied. Heber was reclaimed later; Wilford's abandonment was permanent.[40] Elsewhere during the hectic winter and spring months of 1887, claim jumpers ran ranchers off, beating and abusing them. James Pearce, who had recently "selected land . . . with intention to pre-empt," was forced at gun point from his claim which lay fifty-one miles from the railroad beyond both the place limits and the indemnity lands of its grant. Another settler was forcibly evicted from his home of nearly a decade by an especially notorious outlaw named John Payne, who told him

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[39] According to one account, rustlers branded 52,000 calves on the Hashknife lands one year. See Le Sueur, "Trouble with the Hashknife Cattle Company," Le Sueur Papers, UA, p. 5.

[40] These two villages had been established in 1882 as mountain satellites to St. Joseph. Of the circumstances of their evacuation,

> that he would scalp me, and that he would kill me if I offered to come upon said land, or even if I should touch a thing upon said premises, and also said he would kill me if I attempted to take the improvements. . . . I had not harvested my potatoes, and he said he would kill me if I undertook to dig them. Said land is upon an odd section, and being in the lieu land was not subject to entry, and I am a poor man, and this was my only home.[41]

During the next few months, the nature of the assault on Mormon

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James Pearce wrote:

> "I was informed yesterday that these Aztec employees had ordered two settlements of probably ten families each to vacate in ten days. These settlements are situated in the lieu land, outside of the 40-miles limit, and about 50 miles west of here [Taylor]. These . . . settlements that are ordered to vacate have had peaceable possession for five years; their land is public domain unsurveyed."

See letter to Secretary of the Interior Lamar, March 26, 1887, U.S., *House Executive Document #232*, 50th Cong., 1st Sess., 16.

[41] *Ibid*. Letter of John Oscar Reidhead to L. W. C. Lamar, March 29, 1887. In May of the same year, Neils Petersen, who persisted in trying to gather his stock from the range where Payne headed a gang of horse thieves, was snake-whipped by the latter. Together with James Pearce, whose place had been jumped by Payne, he is said to have asked Jesse N. Smith "if it would be right to kill him." Smith counseled them to wait, and within a few days Payne was killed in one of the skirmishes of the Pleasant Valley War. See LeSueur, "Trouble with the Hashknife Cattle Company," LeSueur Papers, UA, p. 10.

claims changed materially. Unable to find redress, for various reasons, in the court at St. Johns, they found an ally in S. B. Bevans. A special agent of the General Land Office, Bevans took a firm stand against both outlawry and the permissiveness of Aztec officials which fostered it.[42] Almost simultaneously with Bevans' action, violence had first a heyday and then an end. Vigilantes hanged three notorious horse thieves. Four other outlaws, all of the land jumping and stock rustling fraternity, sensing the change in affairs hurriedly crossed over the Moggollon Rim to get caught up and meet their deaths in the Pleasant Valley War. And in Holbrook, a lawman named Commodore Owens killed four more of the badmen in single-handed combat.

Claim jumping and bully tactics were ended, but the Aztec officials, joined by Williamson and General E. A. Carr, president of the Cebolla Cattle Company, purchaser of railroad lands in western New Mexico, called for a settlement of the Mormon claims. Silver Creek communities were first ordered to buy sections from the Hashknife and then ordered off the same lands. At Ramah, New Mexico, the Cebolla Company took even more straightforward action. Settlers there were ordered with some show of force to vacate railroad lands which they had occupied since the late 1870's. Improvements were to be left, and at some future date the company would determine "how much would be required for the use of the land for the time they had occupied it."[43]

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[42] U.S., House Executive Document #232, 21-22. Of his own role, Bevans wrote that he had not hesitated

> "to tell those outlaws who were holding claims with Winchesters and six-shooters, that in the end it would do them no good--the land would be taken from them; the time had come when nothing but a strict compliance with the law would hold lands, and if the actual settlers required assistance he would give them all the aid in his power. On returning to Holbrook he called on the manager of this great corporation, Aztec Land and Cattle Company, told them that in his opinion those in charge of the affairs of the Government would not hold their company, or the managers of it, guiltless when they knowingly allowed their employees to conduct themselves as was alleged in the complaint herein referred to, and which was true, and they not take any measures to stop and prevent it. They promised me they would--and I believe they acted in good faith--and as promptly as they could. . . ."

Ibid.

More conscious of their vulnerability than ever, the Mormons redoubled their efforts to secure legal title to the land. Organizing a land committee consisting of Smith, one-time lawyer Joseph Fish, and D. K. Udall of St. Johns, they launched a drive to resolve the issue. Upon conferring with the Salt Lake authorities, the committee was assured of the church's full support including, if necessary, loans and other financial aids. Of immediate concern was the question of the Aztec Company's position. Although painfully aware of its determined efforts to push them off the ranges, the committee appears to have hoped for a time that its claims were spurious. This was likely due to the verbal commitment Smith had extracted from Williamson and Sedgewick to give settlers the first right of purchase. However, at a session of the district court in St. Johns in April of 1887, such hopeful misapprehensions were dispelled. The report of a "Mr. Donnelly of the land department of the A. & P. Railway" that the land had indeed been transferred was quickly borne out in the records of the county recorder's office.[44] Disappointing for the moment, this exchange later proved to be most advantageous as the Aztec people sold for a figure not much more than half that charged by the railroad.

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[43] Journal of Jesse N. Smith, p. 358.

Hashknife officials were immediately contacted at their headquarters in Holbrook. Once again shifting position, they assured Fish and Smith that "there would be no trouble" in buying the land. However, these preliminary discussions revealed that they were "after all the money that they could get" and that they were at that moment not ready to sell.[45] As negotiations continued, a firm offer was made of $2.50 per acre which was shortly rejected.

The entire matter, including land claims at Woodruff, Snowflake, Taylor, St. Johns and Ramah, New Mexico, was meantime laid before Land Commissioner Sparks in Washington. Taking the position that the settlers had not known they were locating on railroad sections when they took up the unsurveyed lands, the committee requested that lieu lands be given the railroad or some "other equitable turn made by which our rights can be preserved."[46] Verifying the 1872 date at which the land had legally attached to the railroad, Sparks sympathetically promised to "request the railroad Company to relinquish its rights thereto, and allow it to select other lands in lieu there of."[47] Subsequent correspondence made it clear, however, that legal action to force such an exchange was out of the question.

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[44] Ibid., p. 348.

[45] "Autobiography of Joseph Fish," p. 256.

During the following months, other expedients were tried. St. Johns, whose position was less precarious than elsewhere because its claim rested upon Barth's early rights, apparently solved its problem during 1888 by incorporating under the federal and territorial townsite laws. The matter of the other claims was called to the attention of Territorial Delegate Marcus Aurelius Smith, who agreed to present a bill to Congress in their behalf. The bill, which proposed to "secure the railroad company by giving as many acres as we had of their grant, upon the public lands adjoining," evidently did not gain the floor of the House of Representatives.[48]

All other recourse unavailing, it was finally concluded early in 1889 to place a formal request that railroad grant rights be relinquished before the boards of the various companies. Failing in this, as now seemed certain, it was planned to purchase the land, whatever the price, as to withdraw seemed an intolerable alternative to both the settlers and church leaders. The Salt Lake authorities agreed to provide funds to cover the down payments. An appropriation of $500 was also made to cover the expense of a trip to Washington, D. C. and New York for Brigham Young, Jr., and Jesse N. Smith, who along with John W. Young, already in the East and by now probably the church's best access to financial and political power, were to act as agents.[49]

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[46] See letter of Jesse N. Smith to William Sparks, July 14, 1887, National Archives.

[47] Letter of William Sparks to Jesse N. Smith, July 30, 1887, National Archives.

[48] See letter of Jesse N. Smith to Wilford Woodruff, February 20, 1888, CHO.

When, as expected, the companies refused to drop their grant rights, negotiations were immediately initiated, first with the Aztec officials and later the railroad and the Cebolla Cattle Company. In the case of the former, Smith and the Young brothers were happily surprised when they discovered that the asking price was $4.50 per acre. Williamson, at the railroad land office, opened negotiations with a demand of $10 an acre for the section they wanted at Woodruff but dropped to $8.00 during the course of their first visit, which sum they eventually paid. At $8.00 this was the highest price the railroad commanded for any non-urban lands. When compared to the fifty cents per acre for which the

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[49] For the most complete but not always accurate account of John W. Young's role, see "Daily Journal of John M. Whitaker," Vol. I, March and April 1889, typescript UU. Whitaker was Young's private secretary and confidant during this period, and Young's activities in behalf of the church appear in a day-to-day chronicle in young Whitaker's journal.

Aztec and other large tracts went, it seemed a heavy tax indeed.[50]

By secret telegraph code, the Young brothers and Smith kept church President Wilford Woodruff informed of these developments. They also arranged for funds to be sent on request with which to make the down payment to the Aztec Company. Taking the position that the Little Colorado settlements had in reality been of material value to the Aztec operations, the agents pushed for a reduction to $4.00. However, Wilford Woodruff for some reason sent a draft for $4032 as down payment calculated on the $4.50 figure directly to the Aztec people, thus closing the deal. Brigham Young, Jr., irate at this seeming disregard, fired a warm letter to him. The agents, he wrote, had represented the church as "at the end of its ability financially" because of polygamy litigation and other problems. The board's response that "the church was wealthy" and would not "let the people suffer" had been met by repeated and emphatic assertions that it simply could not meet the high figure asked by the company. Young, who was certain that this line of reasoning could "have commanded" better terms, regarded Woodruff's action as precipitate and financially unwise as well as extremely embarassing.[51] On

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[50] Greever, p. 51.

[51] Young's ire boiled over as he concluded that if the president took "offense at what I have written you should have felt the restraint I used to make it no worse than it was." See letter of Brigham Young, Jr., to President Wilford Woodruff, March 28, 1888, Brigham Young, Jr., Letter Box, CHO.

April 2, 1889, the Aztec Company and Smith executed the papers which ultimately transferred seven odd-numbered sections along Silver Creek between Snowflake and Shumway to the Mormons. Final title was to be acquired in 1893 after the last of the annual payments had been made. One month later, papers were drawn up and the first payment made for the railroad section at Woodruff at the Atlantic and Pacific land office in Albuquerque.

Returning to Snowflake, Smith convened a public meeting where the particulars of the land purchase were laid before the people of the area. Arrangements were made to spread the cost to the entire community, with holders of government lands assuming half as much of the burden as those on railroad lands. Smith's own account is to the point and conveys the communal spirit in which this action was taken. It is therefore quoted in full:

> Upon the seven sections purchased only about 1000 acres were under cultivation, and valuable, which would bring the price of such cultivated portion up to something over $20 per acre. In view of the fact that we were all equally interested in the irrigation works and water supply for all our lands, both government and railroad, and owing to the additional fact that holders of the government land could not sustain themselves in the country without the assistance of those on the railroad lands, it was moved and carried that owners of government land joining the purchase should pay half as much towards the purchase as those whose lands were on the purchase, placing the valuation upon the lands actually under cultivation and use, dividing same into four classes according to the quality and desirability of the land and appointing a committee of three from each ward to make the classification of the land. From Snowflake, W. J. Flake, Smith D. Rogers and John H. Willis; from Taylor, James H. Lewis, Sanford A. Angell and Cyrus M. Jennings. I was

> to be an honorary member of the committee. The whole proceedings were unanimous and harmonious.[52]

In the months that followed, the land was surveyed, platted, and classified. Setting the prices so as to cover the cost of the purchase, Smith opened an account with each land holder. Finding a few that were both able and anxious to pay the full amount outright but were reluctant to do so because they could not acquire title to their lands until the final payment was made, Smith inquired if another advance to cover the entire purchase could be made by the church. Encouraged to believe that it could, his plans were given temporary check when the Aztec people indicated that they would accept payment early but would not discount the interest accordingly. In spite of this setback, the church made the final payment to both the Aztec and railroad companies on April 4, 1891, almost exactly two years after the contract had been signed with the former company. Thereafter, the church held title to the land. After meeting with initial success, its policy of deeding the land to its actual occupants as quickly as they paid for it foundered on the hard times of the early 1890's. Pressed by the Salt Lake authorities, local leaders tried every expedient to procure the money, finally deciding that it was a matter for which they were "all accountable to Church law" and those who failed "should be cut off if they did not . . . pay up their assessments on the land purchases."[53] Even threat of such drastic action did not solve the problem, and the church ultimately wrote the debt off by allowing the individual burdens to be applied on irrigation company and school assessments which the tardy settlers could work out. The entire balance of $19,065.60 due the church thus served as a subsidy to the continued development of the colony.[54]

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[52] Journal of Jesse N. Smith, p. 367.

By 1896 most Little Colorado settlers had acquired clear titles to their lands.[55] In a restricted sense, this represented the successful conclusion to the expansion on to the Little Colorado. They had won all the land that their agrarian modes would enable them to utilize. By way of summary, we may enumerate the primary elements that contributed to this achievement. First was the commitment of the colonist to the objective of transplanting Mormon institutions including agrarian patterns to the Little Colorado. A second factor lay in the fact that the ordinary claim to a piece of the public domain that characterized the squatter mentality of that era was sharpened by the uniquely Mormon right to the country as part of "Zion" and by the point of view of the missionary whose directions might be denatured to the following essentials: "Go and stick, do what you must to succeed." Third, Mormon colonists did not encounter overwhelmingly adverse conflicting claims to the land. The United States government for all its efforts to force conformity of social and political practice upon the Mormons was openly sympathetic to their pretenses to the land. Too, it must be acknowledged that the Hashknife and the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad were not ruthless in their efforts to claim their own and profit from it. As fourth and perhaps most important in their success, we may note the consistency of the church's determination to lay claim to the region. At no time were colonists plagued as they were on the San Juan by division and ambivalence among church leaders as to the wisdom of perpetuating the colony. At no time were their pleas for developmental aids turned down on the basis that the church was not tending in that direction as were colonists in Colorado's San Luis Valley and Mexico.[56] To the contrary, assistance of every sort was forthcoming. Close attention from Salt Lake City, legal advice, loans, and, most important, outright subsidies running into tens of thousands of dollars were extended. Land rights on the Little Colorado had not come cheaply to either the settler or to the church. But they had come.

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[53] "Lorenzo Hill Hatch Journal," p. 163.

[54] Journal of Jesse N. Smith, p. 399.

[55] The one major exception to this generalization was at St. Joseph, where as it turned out they had settled upon Section 16--a school section. It was only after Arizona acquired statehood in 1912 that St. Joseph was able to clear its title. This time, as before, it was accomplished by church oriented community action.

However, in the larger sense the achievement was illusory, its implications for the future sharply circumscribed. As we shall see in a subsequent chapter, the isolationist agrarianism of Little Colorado Mormons proved unequal to capturing the essential economic and political control required by their separatism. Furthermore, changing times tended to rob the achievement of its meaning. The Little Colorado and the clutch of other colonies that pushed onto the Colorado Plateau and into southern Arizona during the late 1870's represented, for all practical purposes, the last physical frontier of the Mormon kingdom. The essential conditions of isolation and opportunity for prior occupation were no longer to be found. Without them, the agrarian frontier of the kingdom was pinned against the banks of the Little Colorado and other streams like it where it was to be confronted soon or late with the necessity of reconciliation with the world. While land in adequate measure had been won, the vital factor in staying the day of reckoning was that of water development. Thus, with the horizons of their external frontiers contracting, the ever critical problems of water became even more so as it grew increasingly apparent that the primary hope of extending the kingdom lay in the agricultural development of areas then under varying degrees of Mormon control.

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[56] See pp. 108-109 herein.

CHAPTER VIII

WATER, DAMS, AND FRUSTRATION

Water in a Desert Region

The waters of the Little Colorado were judged by some early Mormons to be so limited, hard to control, or "mineral" as to render the country unfit for human habitation. Others more optimistic visualized the day when the valley of the Little Colorado would support a large and flourishing colony numbering into the tens of thousands. All, however, acknowledged that water was the key to successful colonization. On its development hinged the prospects of the colony's future. In seeking to escape the strictures laid upon them by the limited water and the torrential nature of the country's streams, colonists struggled for decades to establish effective control but in the long run found that the costs of all but the most primary developments were beyond their abilities.

Their experience, except perhaps in its extremes, was not unique. As a matter of fact, it was a replica with variation of a drama that unfolded all over the Colorado Plateau. Settlers in southwestern Utah's Virgin River Basin, in eastern Utah's Castle Valley, and farther east into Colorado and New Mexico encountered similar problems. The name of the river varied and the detail was not identical, but water development on the Price, the San Juan, or the Mancos had much in common with water development on the Little Colorado. The process of taming these desert streams dominated the lives of many who stayed as it dictated the departure of many who left. Certainly, the Little Colorado River left its mark upon the colony that depended upon it.

Although its watershed, which spreads over 25,900 square miles, must be reckoned among the larger area drained by Colorado Plateau rivers, the Little Colorado is relatively unimportant in terms of the water it carries. Measured by the U.S. Geological Survey at Holbrook, below which the river is fed only by the intermittent flooding of dry washes, its average annual discharge during the early years of this century was less than 200,000 acre-feet; this may be taken as somewhat characteristic of the period of colonization. Comparatively, a section of the Virgin River which empties only a little more than a thousand square miles boasted a flow similar in volume during the same years. The San Juan River, whose flow approached ten times that of the Arizona stream, actually runs from a region somewhat smaller in size. According to estimates made in 1905, the Little Colorado's maximum annual runoff had likely never exceeded 300,000 acre-feet. Not only was its discharge small, but its water volumes varied widely during the year, running as high as 69,000 acre-feet in flood months and dropping to little more than a trickle in the dry months of June and July when its flow was only 244 acre-feet.[1]

In 1905 the Survey found only 20,000 acres under irrigation along its course. After studying the river's flow for nearly three years, it was concluded that this amount could be increased by some 30,000 acres if dams capable of controlling high waters were constructed. Although dam sites for about seven times the annual flow had been filed upon, only one or two of them were ever completed, and the river still bursts unrestrained from a trickle to a wild flood as the weather varies.[2]

Rising in the White Mountains near New Mexico's border, the Little Colorado flows northwest flanked variously by mountain meadows, rolling hills, wide sandy bottoms, and by rugged but comparatively modest canyons. Farther back from the river the country also varies greatly. In the main, however, it can only be termed a desert possessing the thin soils, sands, clays, rocks, and minerals that generally characterize such regions. Whatever prospect such a country held for agricultural development obviously lay in the utilization of the river. A moody and undependable stream virtually lost in its vast arid drainage, the Little Colorado was nevertheless the country's primary asset. It's essential role as well as its mood are clearly reflected in the following from an early resident of the country:

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[1] The variations would have been even more pronounced had measurement been taken below Sunset where the stream drew additional flood waters from numerous washes in wet periods and dried up completely in the early summer months of dry years. The data presented above was taken from E. C. LeRue, Colorado River and Its Utilization, United States Geological Survey Water Supply Paper 395 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1910), pp. 109-120.

[2] Ibid.

> What stories could be told about it . . . high and low water, the death and life it had brought. Some days it is a silver ribbon like a stream flowing silently down its sometimes quicksand course. Next day or even the same day, even in an hour, it can change, With a cloudburst of rain, it becomes a raging torrent, rampaging along, sweeping everything in its path. It is dirty, muddy, gurgling, seething, belching, vicious, demon-like, bringing havoc, destruction and death. All this and it is so unpredictable and uncontrollable. . . . Humans and many, many animals have lost their lives in the treacherous, sucking, quicksands of this river. Yet with all its dangers it was a life-saver. In the early days, man and beast survived only because of its life-saving power. It was the only water for miles around so it was 'that or nothing' and without it that part of Arizona could not have been settled.[3]

Water Development

Early-day water development was of three sorts: diversion, impounding, and conveyance. The first and basic measure was diverting the water from stream beds. In a few cases this was relatively simple. Rock walls into which headgates were built were located at strategic spots, usually at a bend or "at the top of the water" where the flow could easily be drawn off into some earlier course which was near stream level. More often it was a matter of lifting the water and "taking it out" by means of diversion dams. Like the rock walls, these were located according to footing conditions and convenience of diversion. The first dams on the river were not large works. The biggest of them rose only twelve feet. As a lift of more than a few feet was usually avoided, it was hoped that such modest works would be adequate. Hard experience soon proved that the happy combination of conditions under which the small dams sufficed were limited indeed. Larger works or continuing reconstruction were consequently required.

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[3] See Ellen Greer Rees, "The Christian A. Kempe Family History," (multilithed privately, 1958), p. 144.

All of the earliest dams were constructed of dirt fill, bound and stabilized by rock, cedar brush, and logs. In time settlers learned to lay them with the side fronting the water rising at a gentle pitch so that floods swept up and over leaving the dam intact. Before the turn of the century, more impressive works had been made on the Little Colorado, but Silver Creek was still controlled by a series of these earthen and rubble diversion dams. For decades it proved necessary to replace them with heartbreaking regularity. Later a degree of permanence was achieved by pouring concrete shells over the dams and laying aprons downstream onto which flooding waters fell as they came over the dam.

After the earliest years, efforts were made to divert unused water into reservoirs to supplement the natural flow of the streams during periods of heavy irrigation.[4] Between Snowflake and Taylor, for example, three such reservoirs had been constructed by the early 1890's. Dams or levees ten or twelve feet in height and perhaps two hundred yards in length were built, generally at sites removed from the direct path of the river. One of these constructed at Snowflake in 1887 was said to have "about 4550 yards of earth work in the bank besides rock and brush." Its capacity was estimated at "enough water to irrigate 1,000 acres over once."[5]

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[4] See "Minutes of the Woodruff Irrigation Company, 1895-1906," pp. 154, 161, 166. The original minutes are in the hands of Earl Crofford at Woodruff, Arizona. He has been kind enough to furnish the writer with a copy.

Perhaps the largest and most effective reservoirs were built at St. Johns. Beginning with two in the immediate vicinity of town in the early 1880's, development progressed until before 1915 the Lyman Dam backed up a substantial amount of water. While the utility of St. Johns' dams was great, they frequently broke, precipitating a chain reaction that swept dams away at Woodruff and St. Joseph that might otherwise have held.

The third aspect of water development was ditching. Because of the modest size of Little Colorado irrigation projects, ditches were not of great capacity, rarely being more than six feet wide or of greater depth than two or three feet. On the other hand, they often ran long distances and involved great expense and continuing labor. In the fall of 1876, touring Arizona officials noted that the colonists on the lower river had already dug "many miles of large irrigating ditches . . . often for long distances through solid rock."[6] The experience of that first summer was duplicated with variations almost annually throughout the colony during the next decade and a half and occasionally thereafter until the 1930's. With notable exceptions, the terrain through which Little Colorado ditches ran was not unduly rough, but the lower country was covered with sandstone upcroppings and higher elevations with malapai formations that complicated ditching. On the lower river, the soil was "sugary" in nature and frequently cut out or merely absorbed the entire stream. At the higher elevations, porous volcanic deposits also drained water out of ditches constituting a technical difficulty which was never solved.

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[5] Fish, "History of the Eastern Arizona Stake . . . ," p. 22.

Ditch networks, of course, were subject to constant revision as reservoirs, new lands, and natural factors altered the water situation. Even after primary construction was completed costs remained high. Windstorms and gully-washing rains filled and refilled ditches with sand and debris. Dependent on Silver Creek and the river itself, ditches never escaped the fury of floods and even when left intact quickly filled with sediment. Consequently, ditch-cleaning was a job that settlers knew well, returning to it in a dogged annual rhythm punctuated by periodic repairs necessitated by floods and washouts. Water assessments and work schedules announced from church pulpits were frequent ceremonials as the cycle of maintenance went on. While they bore the expense, colonists often felt oppressed by it. Characteristic of their feelings was the following expression:

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[6] See Territorial Governor A. P. Safford's report of the visit in the Deseret News, December 20, 1876. In order to get "the bottom of the ditch as near as possible level with the bed of the river," these early ditches ran as much as eight miles. See letter from James Clark quoted in the Deseret News, March 21, 1877.

> Labor on ditches in this stake has been enormous, at Snowflake this year /1889/ the tax was a trifle over $3.00 per acre. Paying out this amount every year per acre . . . tells upon the people and they begin to think it is too much of a burden to carry. Other places have paid about as much as this.[7]

Nevertheless, ditch work was and remains a normal of agriculture on the Little Colorado.

Organization and Leadership

Organization by the Mormons to meet the continuing problems of irrigation was inevitable. Its first manifestations came with an immediacy that indicated that the lessons of Utah's experience had not been lost upon the earliest colonists. The day after the vanguard of settlement arrived on the lower river in 1876, the Allen's Company contingent met to consider "The best way to secure" their "water right by cooperating together." The following day after limited discussion, they accepted an "agreement for an irrigation company" and "commenced work on the Ditch."[8]

Though one of their purposes was to form an association under territorial law, there is no evidence that either this company or others of the early years were incorporated. As a matter of fact, in the years before the mid-1890's some of them appear to have lost their identity as independent agencies entirely. For example, the March association of the Allen's Company water users was soon supplanted as the effective agency of development and control by the St. Joseph United Order. As long as the order remained intact, St. Joseph residents apparently handled all irrigation matters within its administration.[9] The case was likely the same in the other orders. Elsewhere, arrangements that corresponded more or less to the church organizations also assumed the primary obligations of water development.

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[7] "Minutes of the Woodruff Irrigation Company," p. 92.

[8] See "Joseph City Ward History," pp. 10-11.

The extralegal association persisted as the primary form of irrigation organization until the 1890's when it was replaced by irrigation companies incorporated under the Arizona law. Among the early incorporated companies was the one at Woodruff. Although stock in the Woodruff water system had long been divided according to the amount of land held, there is no reference to any formal organization prior to 1895. During recent years, Woodruff users have reasserted right to waters that had fallen into disuse and in the process have ascertained that their water right, which was not filed offically until 1898, is anterior to any other on Silver Creek. In view of this fact, it would not seem that Woodruff turned to incorporation primarily because of economic factors or matters of internal regulation. These had been effectively provided by the earlier church-oriented association and were still being adequately dealt with at the time of incorporation. It thus seems likely that when incorporation came, it came in large measure as a prelude to the securing of legal title to the water.[10]

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[9] See George S. Tanner, "Henry Martin Tanner, Joseph City Arizona Pioneer" (multilithed privately, 1964), p. 59.

The shadow of the church loomed large in both the informal associations of the early years and the chartered companies of the later era. Stake presidencies and bishops played vital roles, as along with a handful of other community conscious men they became the primary planners and promoters. Concerned for both religious and economic reasons, ecclesiastical leaders became involved in water development when they entered the country and remained at its forefront until they were removed from office or died. In many cases their successors inherited this obligation along with the mantle of authority, carrying the tradition on into the twentieth century.

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[10] Article II of Woodruff's Articles of Incorporation reads: The object of this Corporation is the owning and controlling of the waters of the Little Colorado River and Silver Creek at, and below Woodruff, and their distribution to the several owners thereof. . . , "Minutes of the Woodruff Irrigation Company," pp. 24-25. In December of 1898, L. M. Savage "thinking it necessary to have the water of the Company Recorded" took that responsibility upon himself and made the company's right a matter of record as follows: "December lst 1898, Know all men by these Presents that the Woodruff Irrigation Company hereby claims all the water of Silver Creek and the Little Colorado for irrigation purposes --not to exceed fifteen thousand (15000) miners inches--being the regular flow and also the flood waters of Said Streams and their tributaries as they usually pass the town of Woodruff in the County of Navajo and the territory of Arizona." Ibid., p. 94.

L. H. Hatch, who served as member of the stake presidency from its inception in 1878 until 1901, spent the entire period in a struggle to solve Woodruff's water problems. Tending to pessimism and self-recrimination, he was nevertheless the figure around which Woodruff's shifting population formed as he helped build twelve dams and weathered the destruction of eleven of them. His voice on the stake presidency and in the circle of General Authorities, most of whom he knew well, won concessions far beyond what the size and the prospects of the community might otherwise have merited. Driven by despair as dams continued to fail, he carried his requests for aid beyond the narrow confines of the Mormon community, securing funds from public sources as early as 1890, thus establishing a precedent that later developers at St. Joseph and St. Johns as well as Woodruff appear not to have been loath to follow. Cursed and resented, he alternatively sulked, preached, threatened, and prophesied to focus the elements of continued effort on the "famous Woodruff dam."[11] According to a son who is still living, the old gentleman's determination was in part the result of a personal pact with Brigham Young to locate the "worst place on the Little Colorado" and develop its water as evidence of success to other less determined missionaries.[12] Whatever the facts, L. H. Hatch's leadership was an important, if not the paramount factor in the course taken by Woodruff's long fight to tame the Little Colorado River.

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[11] Balked in 1891 by a bishop whose resolve had been broken by repeated washouts, Hatch's strategy of pouting was obvious in the following notation from his diary: "I felt very much exercised about this and stated to President Smith and Richards in strong terms that if we were going to defer longer the building of a dam, I would move and advise the people of Woodruff to scatter out where they could make a living." See "Lorenzo Hill Hatch Journal," p. 157. The strategy worked and soon the bishop in question was released. Appointed in his stead, Hatch's son-in-law L. M. Savage was less apt to drag his heels.

Less a joust with fate and more a matter of positive leadership was the role of D. K. Udall, who first as bishop of St. Johns and later as president of a stake by the same name also spent the better part of a lifetime in water development. Between 1880 and 1915 he was intimately associated with the promotion and construction of seven reservoirs of which some were immense projects requiring effective cooperation between Mormons and outside financiers and engineers. At Round Valley where he lived for several years, he put "a portion of each year" into "building and rebuilding" a "cluster of small lakes." At Hunt, about halfway between St. Johns and Holbrook, he also participated in successive constructions of the "Udall Reservoir" or, as it was called locally, "Zion's Lake."[13]

In company with visiting General Authorities, Jesse N. Smith, president of the Eastern Arizona and Snowflake stakes, provided much of the initiative for water development.[14] His counsel was often sought though less frequently taken, and upon him rested responsibility for a surprising amount of technical decision that only good judgment and practical experience prepared him for. Local leaders often required him to take position on controversial issues in order to buttress their own positions or to unify popular opinion. As water matters came to take a large part of his time, stake gatherings increasingly assumed the character of staff meetings from which water policy and administration issued. One Danish settler uttered a truism when he remarked from the pulpit that all that was talked in worship meeting was "Vater Ditch! Vater Ditch! Vater Ditch!"[15] Indicative of Smith's participation in water affairs and their invasion of church meetings is this curt notation from his own journal:

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[12] From a personal interview with Wilford L. Hatch of Franklin, Idaho, August 20, 1966.

[13] See Udall and Nelson, pp. 184-85. The grandson of D. K. Udall, Secretary of Interior Stewart Udall may thus come by his interest in far-ranging reclamation projects naturally.

> Attended meeting at Woodruff. I spoke of the break in the dam; did not see but what the men who put in the portion that remained could put in more of the same kind. Counseled the brethren not to be discouraged, neither by the reports of what the railroad company was going to do about the land, nor about the damage the water had done to the dam. Know of no better place to make a living by farming in Arizona, any place occupied by Latter-day Saints, than here in Woodruff.[16]

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[14] Visiting Salt Lake authorities were deeply involved in the entire process of development. As ever, their counsel was eagerly sought and in most cases put into effect.

[15] From a personal letter to the writer from Lenora Hansen of Snowflake, Arizona, February 15, 1966.

[16] Jesse N. Smith Journal, pp. 274-75.

When such counsel seemed inadequate, sermonizing was followed with practical advice and aids of varying kinds. Continuing to give close attention to water development, he broadened his horizons in the last years of the century to become an important figure in the irrigation congresses of the time.

Bishops, too, were in the forefront of water affairs. At St. Joseph, John Bushman manifested a contagious optimism that accounts in some degree for the town's resilience. This spirit was much in evidence when following the loss of a dam in 1890 Bushman wrote: "Our people are not discouraged." Twelve months later when another dam, the product of much toil, was also washed away, he noted with equal complacency: "No one seems discouraged. Probably because it is so common."[17] Personal attributes and perhaps other economic opportunity rather than familiarity appear to have been the basis of St. Joseph's optimism since repetition did nothing to assuage the bitterness of disappointment at the loss of dams in Woodruff. There washouts plunged the populace into such gloom that even ardent supporters rallied their spirits only by leaving town for awhile. Seeing divine rebuke in repeated reverses, Woodruff tended to self-remorse. More pliant, St. Joseph with Bushman and others like him at its head also saw God's hand in the course of events but were less frustrated and guilt ridden by it.

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[17] "The Life and Labors of John Bushman," February 20, 1890, and February 20, 1891.

With an eye to temporal means, leadership, and tenacity, the church called three bishops to Woodruff. Their primary obligation was to hold the community together in its effort to build the dam. During the forty years before this object was successfully achieved, each succumbed to social discord, depression, or sheer weariness to leave the village with bitterness and relief. But before each took his leave he had turned again and again to lead a fight in which there was a minimum of personal economic interest and a maximum of commitment to the basic objective.

At perhaps no point did the concern of church leaders for what may be called the general welfare of the colony, including new economic opportunity, persist longer than in water development. Moved by their own sense of obligation and the absence of other initiative, they remained at its forefront until a late date. Indeed, they were intimately connected with reclamation programs until the mid-1930's. Although numerous incidents could be advanced indicating their continuing role in reclamation, reference will be made here only to the Lone Pine project which had been initiated by Jesse N. Smith shortly after 1900 but which was completed by his successor and son Samuel F. Smith in 1936. Though well out of the general time span encompassed by this study, the Snowflake stake presidency's part in the Lone Pine undertaking was clearly of the pioneer tradition and in this respect not out of place in this consideration. Confronted with the economic distress of the depression, church leaders took a course completely in accord with the agricultural orientation of earlier Mormon experience when they revived the Lone Pine project. It was anticipated that the development would vastly increase the acres under irrigation as well as improve the water right on farms already under cultivation. Deeming it a "duty to see the valley developed," Samuel F. Smith and his counselors took the lead rather than the Snowflake and Taylor Irrigation Company, which was itself headed by prominent church men.[18] Using church organizations as agencies of promotion, public support as well as financing and engineering were arranged. The dam, a great earthen barrier across the canyon of Showlow Creek, was let on contract and constructed with modern machinery. The dedication, which the writer recalls, was conducted along church patterns although public officials participated. The entire project failed when despite extensive preliminary test drilling the bottom proved unsound. The Lone Pine Reservoir thus became the last in a long procession of water failures in the country. In this respect as in the role of church leaders in its promotion, Lone Pine was not unlike many of the projects that had gone before.[19]

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[18] Writing of the Lone Pine project, Silas L. Fish, a church associate and close friend of Smith comments:

> "I suppose it would not have got support enough to go ahead if Samuel F. Smith had not boosted the project so enthusiastically. He felt it his duty to see the valley (Showlow and Silver Creek valley) developed. So he used his church influence to support it. . . . Samuel F. really used his church influence to get Lone Pine going, as I remember it, and I remember him saying that he could not have done his duty (church) to do otherwise."

Letter of S. L. Fish, Phoenix, Arizona to the writer, January 24, 1967.

"The Famous Woodruff Dam"

Other general aspects of water development may be viewed through the experience at Woodruff. Founded in 1877, the community fought a stubborn battle with the river which, though it may have ended in nominal victory in 1919 when a staying dam was finally put in, was in reality something of a study in postponed defeat, as no really satisfactory solution was ever achieved. Located four miles below the junction of the Little Colorado and Silver Creek, Woodruff lies east of the river where it flows through a rock cut some thirty-five feet in depth. Varying around thirty families, the town's population formed and reformed following each washout to build thirteen dams, eleven of which were lost to the flooding river, one cut voluntarily, and one which survives.

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[19] David A. Butler, who succeeded Samuel F. Smith as stake president, writes the following that is pertinent both in relation to the Lone Pine project and the point of church leadership which it illustrates:

> "Soon after the change of president was made there came up the problem of the mortgage on the land owned by those who had gone into the project, and as I understand also the new land which was to be taken in. We asked the two counselors, Jesse M. Smith and Marshall H. Flake /grandsons of the two pioneers with which this study had dealt/ to go to Washington in an effort to get the mortgage removed. This they did and we felt much relieved with the results of their accomplishments.
>
> "I find some feeling that this /Lone Pine/ should not be considered a defeat. That it serves as a flood control and has furnished some irrigation water. On a visit of Dr. John A. Widtsoe /of the Twelve Apostles/ we took him to the dam and gave him the story. To make it brief he insisted that there must be water down under and that some one should investigate. As a result Marshall Flake had a well drilled and pumped water for a farm. Now there are several wells furnishing water for land which was to come under this project. Only last fall the Flake boys drilled near the stock yards and plan raising feed for winter feeding of cattle.
>
> "A multimillion dollar pulp mill is operating on water furnished by this under ground lake. Had Lone Pine held we might not have explored what was under us."

Letter of David A. Butler, Mesa, Arizona, to the writer, February 1, 1967. Of particular significance here is the fact that Apostle Widtsoe, not a professional geologist or government engineer, is cited as having provided the initiative which launched the successful quest for subterranian waters.

The pattern began in 1878 when after months of labor high water cut around both ends of the first dam. A flurry of construction during the early 1880's was hammered by incessant reverse as dams two, three, four, five, six, seven, and likely eight were swept away. Brief respite was had between 1886 and 1890 as meterological changes led people to hope they had conquered the river. In the latter year, however, floods of unprecedented proportions again did their "awful work." The construction of dam number ten was immediately launched, bring the water out again before the summer's end; however, in a wet November that hampered life throughout the colony, it too was lost. Finished again the next year as engineering skills increased and the weather abated. the eleventh dam, now flagged by stone slabs, held until 1904 when Zion's Dam at Hunt gave way before large storms releasing a torrent that again left Woodruff's settlers high and dry. Built with much assistance from the church and the Little Colorado stakes, the twelfth and last dam on the river--a masonry structure, remnants of which still stand stark witness to the Little Colorado's prowess--was lost as the Lyman Dam above St. Johns collapsed in 1915 adding the waters it had impounded to an already swollen stream. Weary, but this time with substantial state as well as church aids, Woodruff turned to dam number thirteen. Professional engineers now determined that ditches could be chiseled along the canyon side making feasible the construction of a dam just above the confluence of the creek and the river. Escaping the silts and minerals of the Little Colorado as well as its fierce floods, a permanent diversion dam was completed in 1919. Mormons in quest of a happy ending for Woodruff's long struggle have tended to regard this as a successful conclusion, ignoring the fact that technical difficulties of ditching along the canyon walls proved to be virtually beyond the exhausted town's ability to overcome.[20]

Certain characteristics of the entire colony are seen in sharp relief on this troubled background. Recognizing that Woodruff's struggle and its precarious hold on life were in a sense symbolic of the Little Colorado's general experience, we may now turn to a consideration of the village's marginal existence, certain communal elements in its history, its dependence, and the failure of Mormon means to solve any but the most superficial water problems.

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[20] Recent decades have witnessed an almost complete abandonment of irrigated farming under the dam. A move to restore the ditch and once again "bring the water out" is presently afoot. The pace of changing times is apparent in the ironic fact that impetus this time comes not from the church nor even the village natives but to all appearances from an "outsider" who purchased the old home of a long-time bishop and in the process of its restoration has been caught up in the broader course of Woodruff's ongoing struggle for existence.

Apparent in the foregoing narrative is the fineness of the balance in which Woodruff's existence hung. Closely circumscribed by natural conditions, it barely escaped joining the Little Colorado's roster of ghost towns. From the first, settlers appear to have vacillated about the possibility of staying on. After spending the winter of 1876-77 at the site, the initial settlers scattered, some going back to Allen's Camp and some to a temporary encampment at Stinson's. Others withdrew before the loss of the first dam in April of 1878, going farther east to locate near the New Mexico border and at Bagley twenty-four miles upstream. With the loss of the dam, only three families stayed on--those of L. H. Hatch, James Dean, and Hans Guldbransen. Interestingly, these, along with the families of James C. Owens, who came in 1879, L. M. Savage, and one or two other latecomers, became the stable element in the town's population. Along with wresting a living from their baked soil and labor on the dam, it became the role of these people to recruit others. Time and again the initial phase of construction was building population. Church counsel was used unstintingly in this process as was any promotional talk the people could muster.[21] Built to a peak population of about thirty families during periods of construction and successful diversion, failure of a dam usually brought a general exodus from Woodruff. Most merely left. Occasionally there were those who justified or attempted to justify their departure. At least one, a Brother Dexter, reported that "the spirit had directed him to move his family to Utah."[22] In 1891 even L. H. Hatch became discouraged. Being "very much exercised" about the village's destitute condition, he stated in strong terms, "if we were going to defer longer the building of a dam, I would move and advise the people of Woodruff to scatter out where they could make a living."[23]

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[21] Typical of their overtures were those made to Allen Frost in April of 1889. After conferring with Jesse N. Smith at Snowflake, Frost visited Woodruff in company with its bishop. On April 15 he wrote: "Looked around Woodruff, and visited a little. Received a pressing in-

In 1905 after receiving a lamenting report of the loss of dam number eleven, Salt Lake authorities, whose willingness to subsidize the handful of settlers at Woodruff had been unflagging up to that time, proposed that the community be abandoned. In reply to a request for help from Jesse N. Smith, they suggested that the village could be moved as a unit to southern Nevada's Muddy River. Having evoked such a response, Smith quickly backed off, answering that he considered it "better for Woodruff and cheaper to the church" to build another dam. Ignor-

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vitation to locate here." With the laconic but accurate notation of "Poor Water," he declined the invitation and established his home in Snowflake. See "Diary of Allen Frost," p. 550.

[22] "Lorenzo Hill Hatch Journal," p. 170.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 157.

ing the facts of the town's long history of subsidy and help, he rested the crux of this argument on the "embarrassment" Woodruff's citizens would feel "if they had to take charity." Given such an alternative, he thought "the value of the poor homes they had left would be enhanced a thousand fold in their eyes, and they would long for Woodruff if they went to paradise." Concluding that the distance to the Muddy by rail was six hundred miles and the "wagon road the worst in the country," he turned again to plans of construction and soon won cash grants totaling at least $1500 from the church as well as the right to apply local tithing receipts to the project.[24]

That Woodruff escaped the ignomy of extinction was due in part to the fact that its citizens were not unduly sensitive about accepting aid. Indeed, their tolerance to "charity" was pronounced, and after the very earliest attempts Woodruff was given help on most if not all its dams. Aids came from various sources. Individuals who saw fit to make the town their permanent home were often helped by family members in Utah. While their strong sense of mission relieved this practice of some of its onus, settlers appear to have chafed under the relationships so imposed. The church, which apparently recognized a broader significance in the town's success than the handful of homes thus provided, advanced aids in various guises. Outright cash grants were infrequent but with the passing of time became increasingly important. According to one account, the church "contributed twenty-two thousand five hundred" of the total cost of $85,000 that the last dam cost.[25] More common were tithe reliefs which were generally gathered in labor and kind from about the Little Colorado community. Also important were opportunities to work out debts contracted to the church for water development, land purchase, and other undertakings.

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[24] See letters of Jesse N. Smith to Joseph F. Smith under dates of June 6 and December 5, 1905, J. N. Smith Name File Box, CHO.

In addition to grants requiring action of the church General Authorities, local aid was vouchsafed in the form of labor on at least three occasions--once in 1884, once in 1890-91, and again in 1905. With tongue in cheek but nevertheless with real insight, Evans Coleman wrote the following relative to this practice:

> The Church authorities were practical and philosophical. For example: The people on the Little Colorado were having a hard time, especially at Woodruff and Joseph City. They just couldn't keep those dams in, and a couple of the Apostles came down to look things over and give encouragement and aid to those people.
>
> Those Apostles came on up into the more prosperous communities and at meetings asked us to donate. Quote: "Brothers and Sisters: You know the extreme difficulties our people are having along the Little Colorado. We must not let those settlements be broken up. You more prosperous people must help them. Donate of your cattle, horses, grain, wagons--anything you can spare that they can use." "listen," (and the speaker lowered his voice) "If we can just keep those old people there till they die off and the young ones grow up, it will be home to those young people. They will know no other home nor want any other home. And when the dam goes out they will be just like a bunch of beavers. They won't know anything else but to go and put it in again. They will be permanently located--rooted

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[25] See "Our Town and People, A Brief History of Woodruff" (multilithed), compiled by Sara E. Brinkerhoff and Nina B. Brewer, p. 7.

> into the soil." unquote. Good philosophy, no? Who else would have thought of that but a Mormon colonization promotor? And, the people of the more prosperous communities contributed liberally.[26]

Though inconvenient and at times even oppressive, local contributions generally seem to have been regarded as part of the communal responsibility of colonists whose lot was somewhat less austere.

Woodruff's residents, too, were not without their own sense of communal obligation. Indeed, on one or two occasions their willingness to jeopardize their own welfare for the broader weal was almost heroic. In May of 1880 as their second dam impounded the entire flow of the Little Colorado, it had adverse effects on the lower river villages. Woodruff's response to the dilemma is perhaps best expressed in the words of L. H. Hatch:

> Next day I received a letter from St. Joseph about the water affairs. We were damming the water at Woodruff so that it did not flow on to St. Joseph. Our dam had been closed up for eight days and the people at St. Joseph were all out of sorts waiting for the water to flow over our headgates. It would have to fill up two and a half more feet before it would pass over and that was too long to wait. We cut our dam and let the water through. It was a sorry time for those who had worked so hard to put in this immense dam.[27]

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[26] Coleman, "Historical Sketch of Dr. W. E. Platt," p. 12.

[27] "Lorenzo Hill Hatch Journal," May 16, 1880, p. 115. Of the same event, Joseph Fish wrote:

> "A few days after this Major Ladd came up on behalf of the people of St. Joseph and claimed that there was a great scarcity of water with them, and if the water was not turned down they would lose their crops. A meeting was called and it was decided to cut a hole in the dam and turn the water down. This was a damage to the dam of about $500.00 and blasted their hopes of a crop for that season."

"History of the Eastern Arizona Stake . . . ," p. 35.

The following year, St. Joseph representatives again appeared in May to request that Woodruff turn water down to relieve their critical need. Although "some murmurred," the headgates were opened leaving crops dependent upon natural moisture which soon came in good amount despite the fact that the rainy season generally did not start until much later.[28]

Dependence also extended beyond the circle of church brotherhood. From the beginning, outside work was characteristic of life at Woodruff. Located near the railhead, freighting became a major source of support, and its townspeople carried goods to Ft. Apache, Ft. Defiance, the Keems Canyon Indian Agency and to various other places. Sons were hired out to cow outfits. Others scattered as far afield as the mines in central and southern Arizona. Entirely typical was the condition in 1905 when an inventory pursuant to commencing a new dam revealed that the community consisted of thirty-three families, ten of which were headed by widows or aged men. The men of twenty families, were working at various jobs away from home and could return to the dam only if support could be found for them. Of the total, only three could sustain themselves on their Woodruff holdings for any length of time.[29] Pressed repeatedly by such need but determined to maintain the principle if not the essence of nonfraternization, Woodruff men and boys, and (over the loud protest of church authorities) occasionally its women became something of a service community. Honest and steady, they left home for long periods of time to carry on the necessary functions of many businesses without actually becoming part of them. Reflecting a characteristic aloofness, one settler wrote in 1883: "I spent nearly two months among the gentiles laboring for wages, at Flagstaff. . . . Their company is not pleasant for me."[30] Reserved and closemouthed, particularly after the polygamy raids gathered impetus in the middle 1880's, Woodruff settlers found it to their interest to perform their duties with little protest or agitation.[31] Combined with their impecunious financial conditions, their separatism placed sharp limits upon the nature of their business participation. Few of them acquired stock in or joined the management of outside companies.

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[28] "Lorenzo Hill Hatch Journal," p. 121.

[29] See letter to the First Presidency, May 13, 1905, Jesse N. Smith Name File Box, CHO.

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[30] "Journal of Levi Mathers Savage," p. 37.

[31] Little Colorado colonists' attitude toward labor was remarkably void of sympathy or understanding. They accepted almost without show of resentment John W. Young's high-handed treatment in his railroad contracts of 1881. When strikes swept the country including the Santa Fe Railway during the 1890's, they responded with agitation and excitement but with no sense of identity or sympathy. The remarks of Lucy Flake reflect the general attitude of the community:

> "July 4, 1894--There is a strike all over the United States there has been no mail for two weeks no one knows the outcome. July 7th Telegram says Fifty men killed today in Chicago July 8th . . . Bishop Hunt read dispatches in meeting. Brother Freeman and President Smith Preeched home industry and the unsettled state of things in the World said mens harts was beginning to fail them said all we had to do was live faithful and the Lord would take care of us . . . the mail is coming again it was stoped ten days."

"Autobiography and Diary of Lucy Hannah White Flake," Vol. I.

It was also necessary for Woodruff to turn to Gentile sources of relief. In 1890 petitions were addressed to the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad requesting that land debts be written off or at least temporarily waived. During the same crisis, the Territorial Legislature appropriated $1500 for their relief. In 1915 Arizona, by now a state, advanced " $10,000 to rebuild" the dam. Before the complex system of flumes and siphons by which the ditch was worked down the canyon from the new dam was completed, the community had also received $26,000 under the Federal Emergency Relief Act of the 1930's.[32]

Conditioned by the climate of crisis in which they lived, Woodruff citizens and to a lesser degree Little Coloradans generally were thus anything but independent. The effects of this conditioning were diverse. On the one hand bonds between church colony and mother institution were enhanced. On the other was a strong centrifugal force that led colonists into reciprocal relations with the secular world.

Other projects that sought to control floods or to develop any but the most accessible waters met with a fate not unlike Woodruff's. At St. Joseph where quicksand and shifting riverbeds combined with flood waters, the problems of building a dam that could both survive the rivers moods and divert irrigation streams at low water was not permanently solved until 1923.[33] As we have seen, big projects at Hunt and St. Johns either failed totally or succeeded only upon repeated efforts and after large-scale outside help was secured. Lone Pine's waters proved and still prove to be beyond control, as do Little Colorado flood waters generally. The limited success of reclamation at Woodruff thus became a restricting factor dooming any possibility of major growth of the Mormon kingdom in that quarter.

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[32] "Our Town and People . . . ," p. 6.

In summary the following facts may be noted:

First, the earliest organization for water development followed the lines of the church agencies more or less closely. Informal water companies existed from the first but usually differed from the United Order or the ward leadership only in their more specific purpose until around 1890, after which they became corporate bodies and increasingly independent of the ecclesiastical machinery.

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[33] After reviewing the course of St. Joseph's struggle to dam the Little Colorado, Church Historian Andrew Jenson wrote that it was "the leading community in pain, determination and unflinching courage in dealing with the elements around them." Tanner, "Henry Martin Tanner . . . ," p. 64. Building nine dams--the last of them in 1924--St. Joseph's experience paralleled that of Woodruff. Jenson estimated the cost of the first eight at about $110,000. Perhaps the most interesting of them was a pile dam built in 1884. Of its construction, John Bushman wrote:

> "As the railroad had had considerable experience in building bridges across washes and rivers, the officials of the railroad talked with representatives of St. Joseph about letting them drive piles in the river as a foundation for their 1884 dam. On April 8th, the St. Joseph Irrigation Company hired a pile driver and a man from the railroad company and commenced a pile dam. They drove twenty-two piles from sixteen to twenty feet long in two rows across the river and put logs and brush and rock upon it and made a very substantial dam. But this spring they had more high water than usual and caused a great deal of labor as the men had to work in the water when it was very cold. They got the water to their farms on May 18th. This dam served them three years with some repairing but was entirely swept away in 1887 by the large floods."

See "The Life and Labors of John Bushman," p. 86. For a good short treatment of St. Joseph's experience see Tanner, "Henry Martin Tanner . . . ," pp. 57-64.

Second, the role of local leaders, especially stake presidencies, as agents of social welfare and promoters of acceptable economic opportunity was more apparent in water development than perhaps any other field. Involving the initiation of programs and the management of human resources so as to achieve community goals, their activities in this capacity extended well into the twentieth century.

Third, another obvious aspect of water development was its communal nature. Repeated crises led to strong communal bonds within the church and to cooperative relationships with the Gentile community as Mormons appeared as trusted employees and as recipients of territorial and state aids.

Fourth, and closely related to the third point, is the fact that crisis resulted in the development of a highly dependent society as hard pressed Little Colorado pioneers took help where they found it.

Finally it proved impossible with one or two exceptions to control secondary water. Thus limited, it was possible to bring only odd bits of the Little Colorado Basin under cultivation. A major factor in molding the size and character of the Little Colorado community was consequently its failure to exploit fully even the modest drainage of the river's vast watershed.

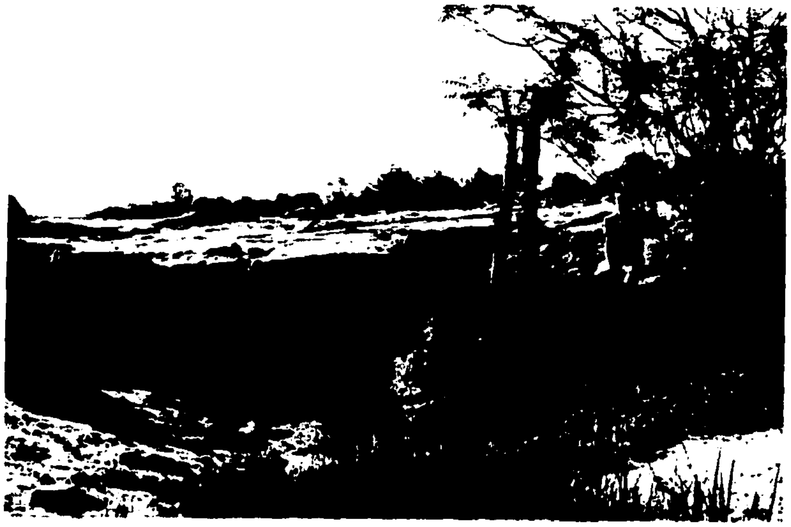

Figure I

Navajo Well

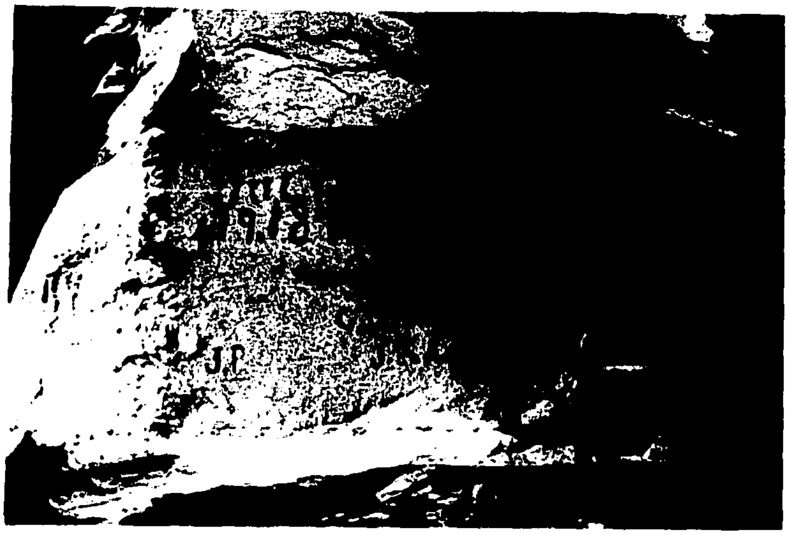

Figure II

Pioneer Names at
House Rock Springs

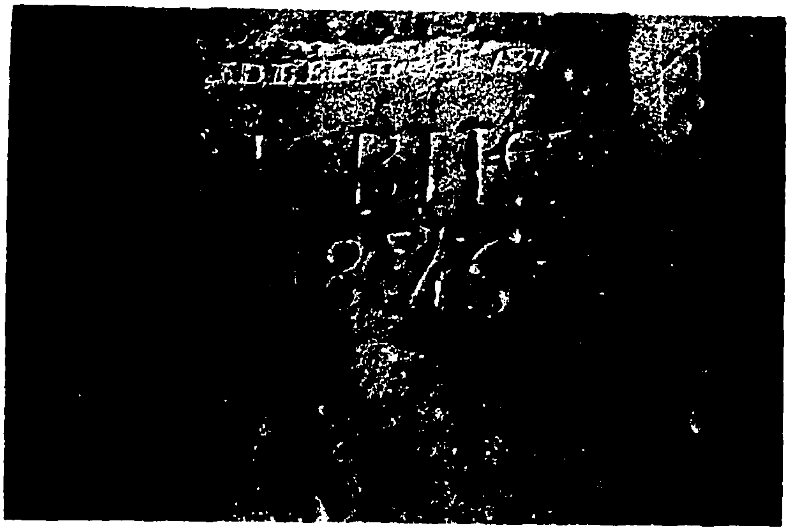

Figure III
Pioneer Names at
House Rock Springs

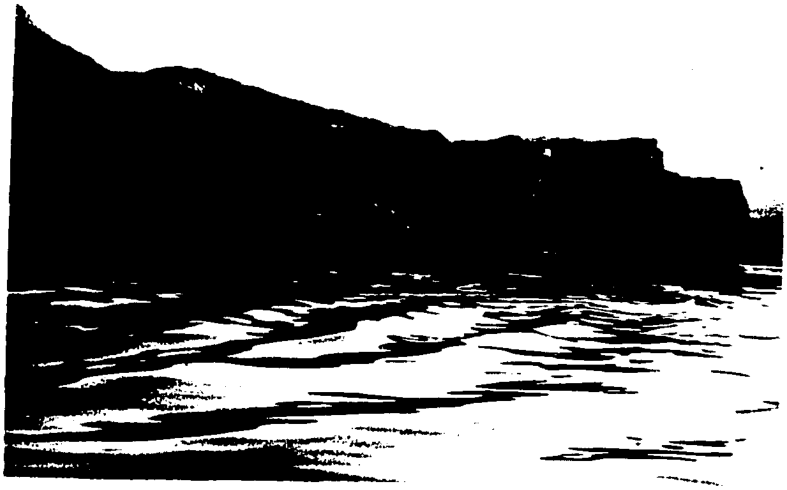

Figure IV

Lee's Backbone
from North Bank
of the Colorado River

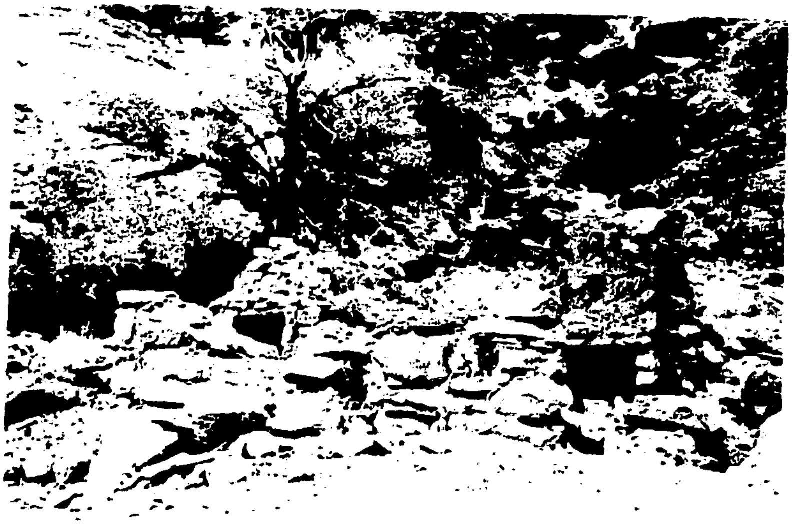

Figure V

Remnants of
John D. Lee's
Cabins
at the Ferry

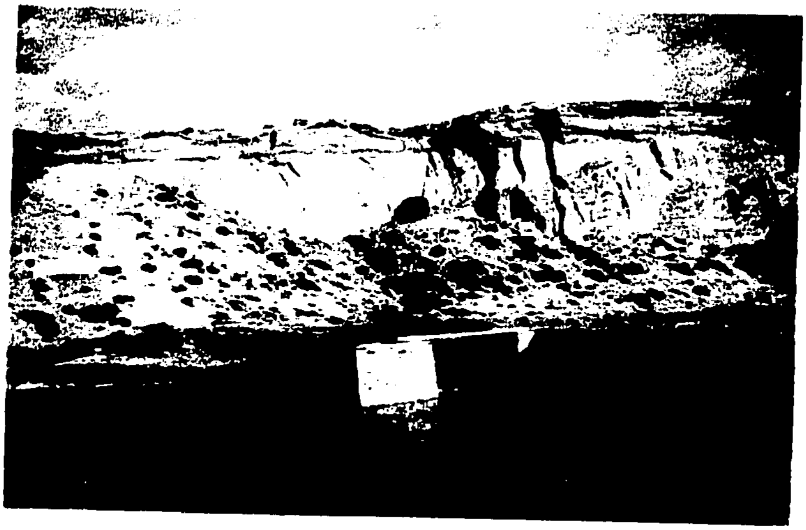

Figure VI

Mormon Reservoir
Near Moencopi

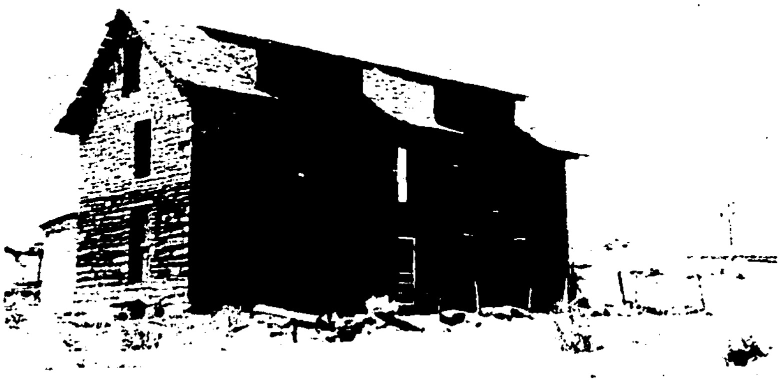

Figure VII

The Lot Smith Home
At Moencopi

The red stone
in the lower half
of this structure is
said to have been
taken from John W.
Young's Woolen
Mill.

Figure VIII

Black Falls
on the
Little
Colorado River

Figure IX

Grand Falls
on the
Little Colorado
River

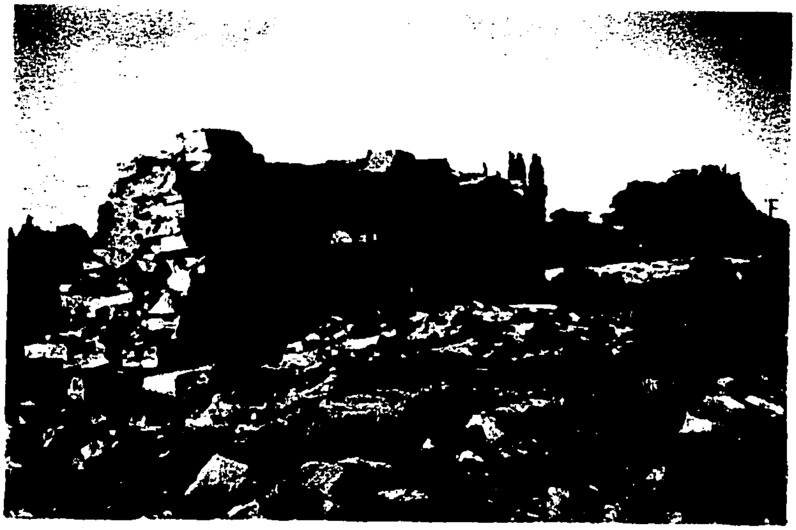

Figure X   Remnant of Woodruff Dam

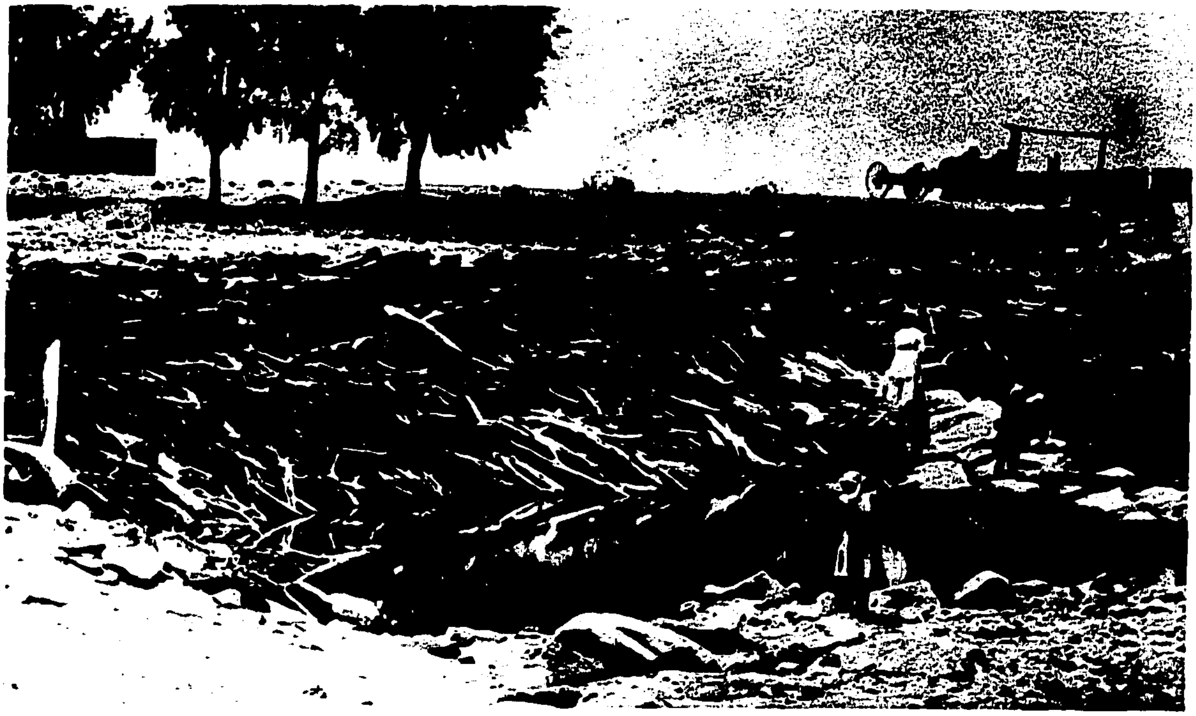

Figure XI   Diversion Dam on Silver Creek Above Snowflake

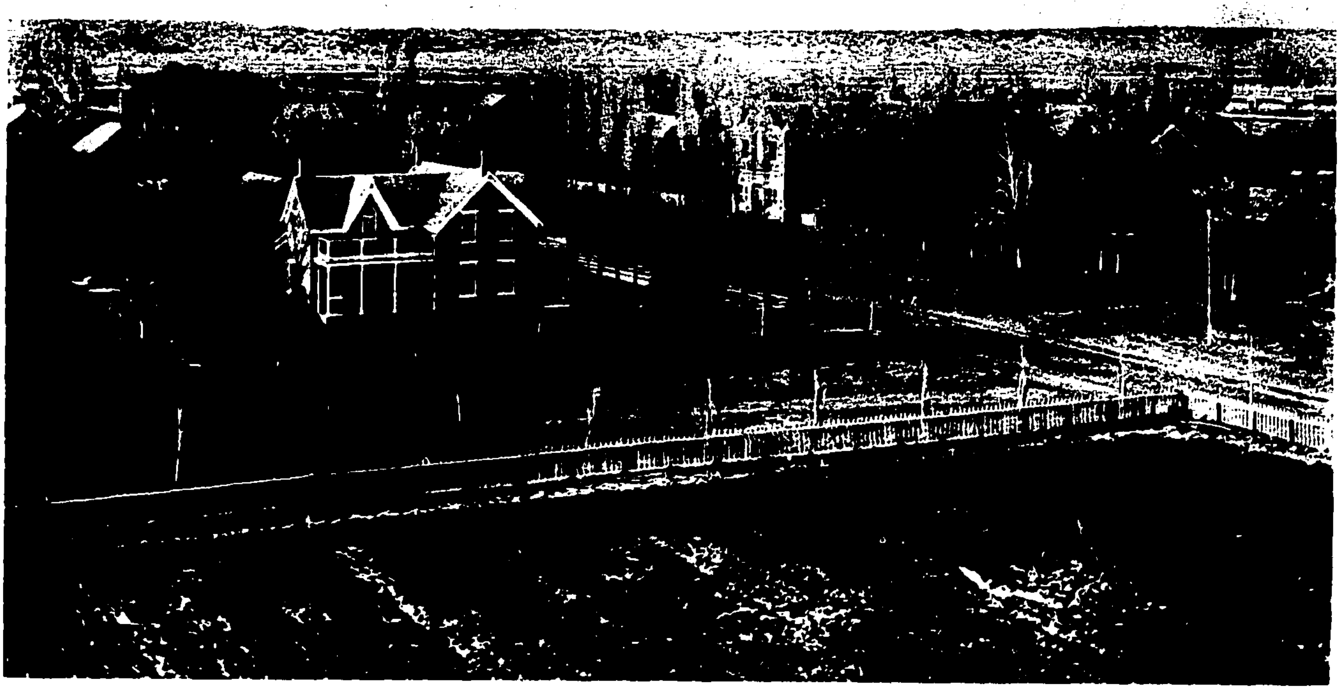

Figure XII Pioneer Homes at Snowflake

Figure XIII Snowflake Stake Academy

PART III

FRONTIER DYNAMICS

CHAPTER IX

INDIAN RELATIONS

"On the Border of the Lamanites"

Indian relations were also an important factor in the Mormon expansion to the Valley of the Little Colorado. Founded at a time when major Indian wars still lay fresh in Arizona memory, the colony was nearly surrounded by Indians with the Hopis on the north, the Navajos on the north and northeast, the Zunis at the east, and the Apaches to the south along the rim that divided the Little Colorado and the Salt River drainage. Throughout the region of colonization, extensive ruins bore testimony of relatively dense populations in bygone ages, but at the time of settlement the Little Colorado Basin was uninhabited except around its perimeters which extended into Indian territory.[1] Thus, while not literally upon tribal grounds, the colony was isolated from other white settlements by Indians as well as by miles of desert. Inevitably there was considerable intercourse between the two races, a contact that was not without its rewards to the Mormon colonists.

In addition to the physical fact of proximity, settlers were drawn to the Indians by the general Mormon affinity for the Lamanites, as they

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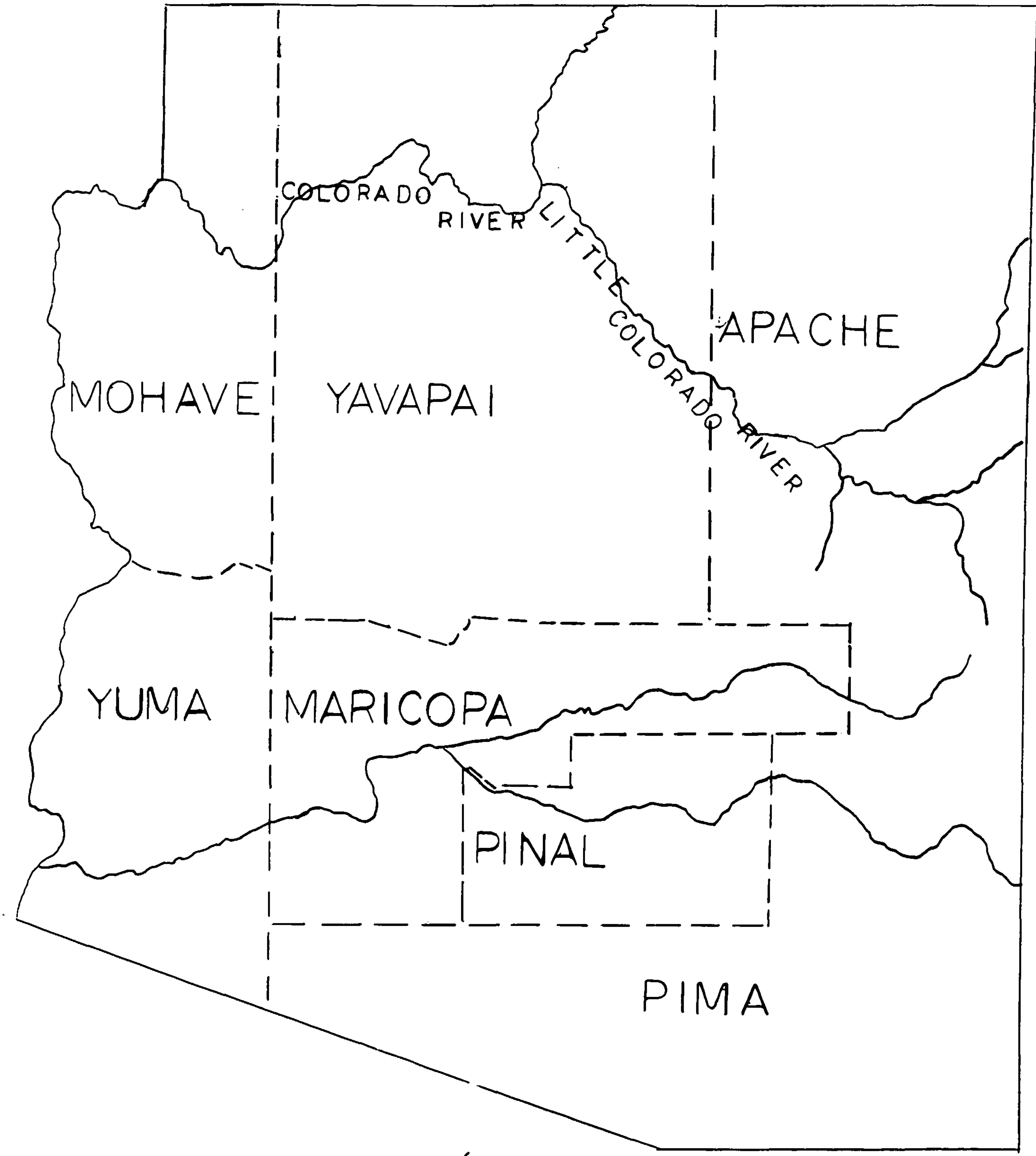
[1] See Map 3, page 351 herein.


COLORADO RIVER
LITTLE COLORADO RIVER
MOHAVE
YAVAPAI
APACHE
YUMA
MARICOPA
PINAL
PIMA

ARIZONA'S COUNTIES 1879

Map 3

were called. Believing that the red man's forbears had come to the western hemisphere under providential direction, Latter-day Saints accepted as part of their mission the obligation of restoring him to his former position of favor in God's eyes and believed that he had a special lien upon the American continents. Motivated by such ideas, the entire course of the church's history had been marked by a preoccupation with Indians. As early as 1831 a pattern had been established when the church followed its first Indian missionaries onto "the borders of the Lamanites" in Missouri. Thereafter, numerous frontiers, including the one on theLittle Colorado, were first opened by Indian missionaries.

The approach to northern Arizona grew out of missionary work in southwestern Utah. From the time of that region's earliest settlement, church officials devoted a good deal of time and attention to the Paiutes, Shivwits, and other primitive tribes. Moving in among the Indians, whites easily established control and with confident altruism sought to usher them into the cultural world of the white man. Limited by their own lack of resources and a passive reluctance on the part of the Indians, little was accomplished. A few Paiutes were located on small patches of land; others were taken into private homes where all too often they succumbed to disease or to other dislocations incident to the move. Individual and mass baptisms were performed but rarely effected any change in the neophytes who appear to have submitted primarily because of the new shirts and feasts that were sometimes given as part of the ceremonies.[2]

Humanitarian interests were interlarded with and often indistinguishable from the obvious Mormon intent to take over the land occupied by the Indians. Sensitive consciences among the interlopers were assuaged by the contemplation of the mission's benefits and the seeming logic of their assumption that the area would support both the Indians and the whites if the methods and techniques of modern culture were applied. Thus Mormons hopefully embarked upon a policy of joint occupation that lasted for four decades. Only after it was cruelly apparent that the experiment had failed were the Indians moved to the Santa Clara Reservation in 1891.[3]

However, southwestern Utah's Indians were only of passing interest. As increasing familiarity measured the pace of declining interest in the Paiutes, the call of the mission drew attention to important new fields, some of which lay beyond the Colorado River. Waning interest was partly the product of the Paiutes' own submissiveness, and such attention as they continued to attract was closely related to their unrest during the general Indian disorders of the 1860's. Resting upon prophetic assurance that a speedy transformation of the Lamanites was both imminent and requisite, Mormon altruism, sure though it was, tended to be restless and searching. Needing remarkable and speedy manifestations, it found the passive submission of the Paiutes to be less than satisfactory. Thus, as it became increasingly obvious that Paiute Israel was either failing to recognize its own or was unsufferably slow about it, a perfunctory if not grudging paternalism supplanted enthusiasm and expectation which were then refocused upon untried and more promising targets.[4]

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[2] Angus M. Woodbury, The History of Southern Utah and Its National Parks (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1950), pp. 167-68.

[3] For a general account leading to this event, see Juanita Brooks, "Indian Relations on the Mormon Frontier," Utah Historical Quarterly, XXII (1944), pp. 1-48. According to A. W. Ivins, he initiated the move to locate the Indians on a reservation after having trouble with the "Shebit" Indians on the mountain of the same name. See "Anthony Woodward Ivins Journal," p. 202.

Then, too, the Mountain Meadows Massacre of 1857, in which Mormons had joined the Indians in a sordid and savage business, undoubtedly had an adverse effect upon the mission. In addition to placing the Mormon protestations of peace upon which the message of regeneration depended in strong question, the massacre was directly connected with the southward shift of the mission. Running down reports that one of the surviving children was in the hands of Indians south of the Colorado River, Jacob Hamblin found an excuse to visit among "the nobler branches of the race" of whom he had heard in his work in Utah.[5] Crossing the Colorado in 1858, Hamblin initiated the long Mormon flirtation with the Hopis or Moquis, as they were known at the time. With their sedentary agriculture, textile skills, respect for their women, and kiva rituals which were suggestive of Mormon temple ceremonies, Arizona's pueblo dwellers quickly captured Mormon imagination. Indeed, scriptural promises appeared to be partially fulfilled in the Hopis. Interest was also titillated by the old Welch Indian myth that had attracted attention to the Mandan Indians along the Missouri in times past. Welch converts, however, listened in vain for words of Gaelic derivation in the Hopi language.[6]

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[4] According to Mormon belief, Indians had descended from Israelite families led to the Americas about 600 B.C. and thus merited both the name of Israel and the blessings promised to Israel in the Old Testament. See Doctrine and Covenants 19:21.

[5] Juanita Brooks, Mountain Meadows Massacre (new ed.; Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), pp. 102-103. Mrs. Brooks writes

Groping their way across the river at the Crossing of the Fathers, the first missionary groups were hard pressed to keep body and soul together. It was not an easy land. Moved by a sharp surge of loneliness as he saw his fellows of the 1859 mission turn homeward, Thales Haskell, who along with Marion J. Sheldon was left at Oraibi, gave more than a hint that the country did not excite enthusiasms similar to those elicited by the Indians. "Slowly and sorrowfully," he wrote:

> I wended my way back to the village. Such a feeling of utter loneliness I never experienced before, for search the wide world over I

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that "although Jacob Hamblin knew well that no child had ever been in the hands of the Indians," the search gave him "opportunity to do something he had long wanted to do and at government expense." He received $318 in compensation for his trip according to Office of Indian Affairs records.

[6] James A. Little, Jacob Hamblin (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructors Office, 1881), p. 63.

> do not believe a more bleak, lonesome, heartsickening place could be found on this earth where human beings dwell. And here we are, Brother Shelton and me, with strange Indians who talk a strange language, situated far from the busy haunts of men. Who but Mormons would do it? Who but Mormons could do it--could make up their minds to stay here a year?[7]

Awed by the country's nature as well as its isolation and the reputation of Arizona's Indian tribes, the church espoused what appears to have been an Indian relocation policy in reverse. At the instance of the Mormon prophet, Hamblin repeatedly invited the Hopis to cross to the north side of the river where it was hoped they would "settle in different places under the south rim of the basin in communities of about twenty white men to every ten Indians."[8] Unfazed, the Hopis countered that prophets of their own had warned against crossing the river, and with the exception of one or two early diplomatic visits and later trading sortees, they remained in their tribal homes.[9] Without abandoning the "re-

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[7] "Diary of Thales Hastings Haskell, 1859-1860," original in BYU, p. 18.

[8] Quoted in Brooks, "Indian Relations on the Mormon Frontier," p. 26.

[9] In reference to the Hopi's reluctance to cross the river and settle near southern Utah's Mormons, Ira Hatch, an early missionary, recounted in 1870:

> "They think that but a few generations have passed away since their ancestors occupied an extensive portion of the country in which they now reside, both north and south of the Colorado; but they were slaughtered and driven by their enemies, until a remnant were compelled to locate in their present places, which are capable of easy defense compared with the open country. At the time the Piede nation drove them across the Colorado, a mutual compact was entered into by the contending parties, that neither of them should ever

location" policy, plans were made to spend a year among the Hopis in 1860. The projected mission, however, was given up when one of its numbers, George A. Smith, Jr., was killed by hostile Navajos. Not easily checked, Brigham Young directed that a much larger mission be established at the Hopi mesas in 1863 but was again forestalled as the Black Hawk War of central Utah spread south, complicating the Indian question by 1865.

Mormons were not oblivious to the Navajos. In part this was a matter of fear, but it was also something more than fear. Indian missionaries had long been intrigued by this large nomadic tribe. In fact, the Mormons had become cognizant of them as early as 1831 when Oliver Cowdery made what may well have been the first Mormon reference to any western tribe as he wrote his brethren of the church leadership from Kaw Township, Missouri:

> I am lately informed of another tribe of Lamanites, who have abundance of flocks of the best kinds of sheep and cattle; and they manufacture blankets of a superior quality. The tribe, is very numerous; they live three hundred miles west of Santa Fe, and are called Navashoes.[10]

> cross that river. Although the Piedes have broken this treaty long since, when the deputation of the Moquis crossed the Colorado on their way to Salt Lake City, they said they were the first of their people who had broken that treaty."

"The Moquis Indians," as narrated to James A. Little, Millennial Star, XXXII (April 1870), 242.

[10] Documentary History of the Church, I, 182. Cowdery, along with a few other Latter-day Saint elders, was on the first of the church's many Lamanite missions when the above was written. Within a few

After the move west, the church's interest in the "Navashoes" was soon translated into action. In 1854 William Huntington conducted a mission of "discovery" to their country. Preceding the Elk Mountain Mission by nearly a year and Jacob Hamblin's first mission to the Hopis by four years, Huntington's expedition was among the earliest to outlying tribes.[11] The following year, Alfred Billings and other members of the Elk Mountain Mission made a tour south of the San Juan River by a route which they recorded with painstaking but misspelled detail. At least one account of the trip, that of William B. Pace, indicated that it was made as a result of an invitation to visit and teach the Navajos.[12] Spending only a short time in northern Arizona, the elders were forced to abandon further designs, whatever they may have been, when the In-

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months of this time, Missouri was designated as the gathering place for the Saints. That Missouri's location on the "borders of the Lamanites" featured in this selection cannot be doubted. Subsequent frontiers were often approached because they were located on Indian lands.

[11] Writing to Franklin D. Richards in December of 1854, George A. Smith informed him that "Brother William Huntington has returned from his trip of discovery among the Navajos. He found the ruins of an ancient city, some of the buildings in a good state of preservation, four stories high, the walls laid in cement as hard as rock." See Millennial Star, XVII (April 1855), 253. In light of the fact that members of the Elk Mountain Mission of the next year recovered wagons, spades, and a few sundry items cached in the valley the year before, it seems likely that Huntington had passed through the Little Grand Valley on his trip. The ruins referred to above may have been those at Hovenweep in southeastern Utah. See "Oliver B. Huntington Diary, typed copy at BYU, p. 96.

[12] See "William B. Pace Diary," typed copy at BYU, p. 17.

dians of the Little Grand Valley, as Moab was called, chased them off.

Thereafter, no contact with the Navajos appears to have been made until the unfortunate meeting of the mission of 1860 with a peripheral band heralded the first clash of two advancing frontiers. In the time of fear that followed their defeat at Kit Carson's hand in 1863-64, the Navajos scattered, some going north and west into the broken canyon lands south of the San Juan and Colorado rivers.[13] Smarting and in real need, they would have found the approaching Mormon frontier tempting under any condition; given the unrest in Utah incident to the Black Hawk War, the invitation was too much to resist. Fording the river in large parties at the Crossing of the Fathers, they split into smaller bands, plundering first the outlying ranches and, as they grew bolder, even the more populous communities. The seriousness of their inroads was the greater because they were joined by Paiutes, some of whom had belatedly recognized that their ancestral food supplies were failing.[14] Paiute

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[13] For a general account of the Navajos in which Carson's role is treated, see Ruth M. Underhill, The Navajos (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956), particularly chapters 10-14.

[14] Of the changing times among southwestern Utah's Indians, one settler wrote:

> "In the fall of 1865 the indians became somewhat troublesome in the Kanab country. The true cause of this change in their actions I have never been able to discover. . . . But those who resided there became saucy and commenced killing cattle upon the range. Never before had we seen anything like this aggravating policy in them, and if they had before killed cattle, it was upon a very small scale and not found out."

See "Journal of Levi Mathers Savage," pp. 3-4. While the above writer and the general settler may not have "been able to discover . . . the hostilities, which had never been serious, slacked off during 1867 and stopped entirely the next year. Navajo incursions continued, however, until 1870 when Jacob Hamblin and John Wesley Powell made a peace treaty with them at Ft. Defiance.

Soon a friendly intercourse was established which encouraged Brigham Young to push the frontier farther south and east. Old Paria, Pipe Springs, Kanab, Johnson, and Lee's Ferry were all established in conjunction with this new expansion. Amicable relations, however, came breathlessly near collapse when three young tribesmen were murdered while on a trading expedition to the Sevier River country late in 1873. Peace was soon patched up by Hamblin, who in a daring bit of Indian diplomacy eased the fierceness of Navajo anger during January of 1874. Thereafter, relations were remarkably free of trouble.

Although Navajo hostility had given temporary check to Brigham Young's interest in the Hopis, the general southward movement of the

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true cause of this change," the combination of failing food supplies, which at least Jacob Hamblin understood well enough, and the contagion of the general unrest of the time seems to account for the "sauciness" of the once complacent Paiutes. Of the dilemma confronting them, Jacob Hamblin noted:

> "The great numbers of animals brought into the country by the settlers, soon devoured most of the vegetation that had produced nutritious seeds; on which the Indians had been accustomed to subsist. When, at the proper season of the year, the natives resorted to these places to gather seeds, they found they had been destroyed by cattle. . . . Those who had caused these troubles have not realized the situation. . . . Lank hunger and other influences have caused them to commit many depredations."

See Little, Jacob Hamblin, p. 95.

of the Mormons was accelerated by the Indian wars. Following their foraging, livestock ranchers had already pushed the border deep into southeastern Utah when hostilities began. Punitive and exploratory expeditions, although confined almost entirely to Utah, served further to acquaint the whites with trails and water sources as well as the general potential of the Colorado Plateau.[15]

Having laid the physical groundwork behind them and softened the way before them by means of diplomatic and public relations activities, including not only the various Arizona missions but also hosting visiting deputations of Indians, the church at last launched a better manned and larger scaled invasion of northern Arizona's Indian lands in 1873. Led by an Oraibi chieftain named Tuba, who had conceived a vague but, as it proved, abiding vision of a Hopi people liberated from much of life's drudgery as he had seen the marvels of southwestern Utah's cotton factory, a few Hopis appear to have been desirous that the Mormons settle among them. The Navajos, though recently at war with the Utahns and for many years an enigma to them, were no longer hostile and occasionally turned to the Mormons with such open and friendly candor that some came to regard them as their mainstay in the country.

The Apache's reputation as a killer was still bright. Ever cautious, Mormon leaders counseled the mission of 1873 not to endanger life and property by pressing into their country. Although the mission's failure to penetrate to the more promising lands farther up the Little Colorado was in large part the product of obedience to this charge, the mental reconciliations that made it possible for Mormons to move into the immediate neighborhood of the Apaches a few years later were initiated at that time. The Zunis, too, remained outside the immediate experience of the church, but indirect contact now began to reinforce general impressions that they constituted likely candidates for the gospel. Adding to this blossoming interest in both the Apaches and the pueblo dwellers of New Mexico was the growing understanding of the relationship of the Little Colorado's relatively unpopulated crescent to these tribes.

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[15] C. Gregory Crampton and David E. Miller (eds.), "Journal of Two Campaigns by the Utah Territorial Militia Against the Navajo Indians, 1869," Utah Historical Quarterly, XXIX (April 1951), 150.

The Hopis

After 1873 the center of Mormon activity in Hopi land was Moencopi. On the main route to Arizona, it served both as a way station and a headquarters of missionary activity.[16] The Hopis had established a village at the site prior to the beginning of Mormon colonization. Members of the Arizona mission of 1873 found them there, and John D. Lee, who spent the last half of that year at neighboring Moenave, wrote of frequent visits to "the Farm of the Native" where he was received with great hospitality by Chief Tuba and his wife and other Indians. According to Lee, the place was well established, having cultivated plots laid out with "Judgment & taste in Terresses" as well as flat-roofed stone houses and prospering herds of sheep and goats.[17] Yet there is some question about the permanence of residence at the village. Culturally attached to Oraibi, it was entirely vacated at times as its people retired to the older village. It seems likely that in the years before 1876 most if not all of its inhabitants left during the winter months.[18]

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[16] Founded about the time Mormon migration began, Moencopi's location some twenty-five miles toward Utah from the older Hopi villages represented something of a victory for Brigham Young's policy of Hopi resettlement referred to above. See letter of George A. Smith to Erastus Snow under date of February 15, 1863, quoted in Bleak, Book A, p. 129. There is some indication that the Mormons planned originally to leave Moencopi to the Indians and to locate a supporting community at Moenave eight miles farther west. Diaries of 1873 record plowing and water development at the former site, but, in the light of the fact that during that summer John D. Lee, who was well acquainted with the country, lived at Moenave for two full months before he stopped calling it Moencopi,

Whatever the case, Chief Tuba clearly regarded himself to be the proprietor of the area. Paying Lee a call shortly after the latter's arrival at Moenave, the chief informed him that he was welcome "to

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one might question the nomenclature of these early accounts. See Cleland and Brooks, II, 271. Chief Tuba later claimed that Hamblin had agreed to make Moenave the deepest point of Mormon penetration. See "Diary of Christian Lingo Christensen," p. 70.

[17] Cleland and Brooks, II, 271.

[18] Hamblin found it empty in January of 1874, its people having "gone to a big dance at the Oriba villages." See letter of J. E. Smith quoted in Little, pp. 131-32. In the fall of 1875, Anthony W. Ivins found that it was not inhabited at the time of a November visit. See "Anthony Woodward Ivins Journal," pp. 33-34.

setle with him & said that Jacob & I might have those 2 springs & make us a home & bring our Familys."[19] Later, as a warm friendship grew between them, Lee was given a "verry pressing invitation to come /to Moencopi/ not only come on a visit, But to Move all togeather & Make My home with them."[20] Although they were Hopis in the main, the Indians that collected around Chief Tuba were a mixed lot including "oraves, NavaJoes & Piutes."[21] They were a restless and dissatisfied element whose standing among their tribesmen was questionable at best. More open and consistent in their hospitality toward the Mormon colonists than were most Hopis, they expected much from their new association.

As indicated above, the first Mormon to take up permanent residence among them was John D. Lee. Picking up a rumor that federal troups were bound for the Lee's Ferry area to build a fort, Lee followed the Arizona mission of 1873 into northern Arizona and stayed on at Moenave when the rest of the Mormons retreated. Making his home, crude as it was, into an open house for travelers, most of whom were miners, Lee became fast friends with the Indians of the entire region. Although he had been excommunicated from the church previously and was openly hostile to Jacob Hamblin, he was greatly concerned with the welfare of the kingdom and did much to mitigate the fears of the Indians as they contemplated the Mormon advance. He lived so closely with the miners that Brigham Young reprimanded him for it, but according to his own accounts Lee never vacillated in his loyalty to Mormon motives nor sacrificed the interest of the Indians. Characteristic was the following entry in his diary made as he and a group of prospectors visited the "Co ho nee nas" country in quest of gold. Questioned by the Coconinos as to the motives of the miners, Lee replied:

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[19] Cleland and Brooks, II, 266.

[20] Ibid., p. 286.

[21] Ibid.

> I can't vouch for their being friends to you. . . . I thought of the work to be accomplished amoung them & for the sake of silver or gold, would I throw a block in the way? No!! Never, said I. So I gave up the casle, kno (o) wing the feelings of some of the Parties, Smith Especially, who repeatedly sai (d) that th(e)y would Sacrifice the g. d. Indian for the sake of a Led(ge) & make an offering of him on (it). . . . Neither do I ever intend to Sacrifice the lif(e) of any man for gold. I will die a Poor Man first & before you Sacrif(ice) the Indian that trust himself in my hand, you will have to ki(ll) Me first, for I will die by him before he Shall be hurt. . . . I choose rath(er) to suffer Poverty & afflict(ion) with the People of God th(an) to enJoy the Pleasure of sin with the wicked for a season.[22]

The work among the Hopis never really developed. As bright as the prospects appeared, very few of them became members of the church, and, with the possible exception of Chief Tuba, his wife, and Tom Polacca, founder of Polacca House at the base of First Mesa, they were only nominal converts. As elsewhere in the Little Colorado Basin, life was so arduous that, in spite of such bold and visionary beginnings as John W. Young's woolen factory, Moencopi Mormons were never far enough removed from stark necessity to devote any real effort to the instruction of the Indians. Thus, while the entire Mormon population at Tuba City was Indian oriented, only a few of them actually served as Indian missionaries. The latter made spasmodic preaching tours during the first decade but never carried on a consistent program of instruction in either religion or the practical arts and skills of agriculture and home industry. Excepting a period of resurgence during the polygamy raids, the shining idealism of earlier years suffered a progressive corrosion until by the early 1890's it appears to have been entirely forgotten. Thereafter, relations with the Hopis were little more than a matter of coexistence with both peoples adhering to their pacific traditions.

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[22] Ibid., pp. 331-32.

If the promise of Mormon idealism failed, so did the prospect of a Hopi break with the past. Despite passing flirtations with change, even Chief Tuba was unable to transcend permanently the Hopi antipathy for the white man's ways. While Tuba remained the Mormon's main advocate among the Hopis for years, familiarity quickly worked its flux upon him and the promise of relief for his people that had excited him when he visited the Washington cotton factory in 1861 was soon engulfed in the problems of life in close proximity with the Mormons. However, Tuba seems to have seen more plainly than most the two-fold responsibility for the Moencopi experiment's failure.[23]

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[23] "Diary of Christian Lingo Christensen," pp. 70-71.

The true friendship and restraint of the old chief had more than a little to do with the fact that the Hopis were not moved to really hostile action by anti-Mormon stirrings which cropped up from time to time. As early as 1873, a report came to John D. Lee that "the officer in command of Wheeler's outfit & the Professing Man /Professor Thompson/ persuaded the Indians to drive off the Mormons."[24] Imagined or real, this threat frightened Lee. Later reports of anti-Mormon agitation probably rose from no more valid sources, but they produced tension and contributed to bad feelings. Excitement was especially high during the polygamy scare in 1885-86. At that time "Speigel Berg Bros from Albuquerque," a Gentile firm which had taken over the old Moencopi mission house, rallied wool buyers and other businessmen in the country against polygamists. In the general excitement, Gentiles appear to have believed that Mormons "were trying to Unite all the Tribes to . . . Wipe out Gentiles." Fearing the Gentiles in turn, the Mormons carried their guns for the first time in a decade.[25] Considering the isolation of Tuba City and the scattered white population of the northern deserts around it, the polygamy question appears to have generated a debate of surprising warmth. One reason for this was the fact that a number of key inhabitants were missionaries from other churches. But talk was not limited to them, and a trip to the Keams Canyon Indian Agency, to Ft. Defiance, or merely to Polacca House at the foot of First Mesa, usually led to hot discussions and sometimes threats and anger.

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[24] Cleland and Brooks, II, 299.

[25] See "Diary of Christian Lingo Christensen," pp. 66-72 for a firsthand account of the general discord generated by the polygamy excitement.

Indians also became somewhat involved in the polygamy question. While not stirred to militancy by it, the Hopis, who like other pueblo Indians were monogamous, looked in disfavor on the practice and are said to have suffered considerable loss of confidence in the Mormons when they discovered that they had multiple wives. The Navajos, on the other hand, were unabashed polygamists. Urged unofficially "to put away their Plural Wifes," they communicated to the Mormons that they had no intention of doing so.[26]

The Navajos

The Mormons approached the Navajo frontier with an understandable trepidation. Even though several notable diplomatic breakthroughs including the Ft. Defiance Treaty of 1870, the settlement of the Sevier Valley murders in 1874, and at least one important marital alliance had allayed their worst fears, memory of the raids and killings of the late 1860's stirred both distrust and resentment. The pioneer attitude was clearly revealed in the following from the pen of Christian Lingo Christensen of Moencopi:

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[26] Ibid.

> When we first came into this country we had to stand guard nights to protect our animals and this was all done to make and preserve Peace and good order. Haveing no acquaintance with the Navejoes that was very confidencial we were verry suppicious of them. /They/ Haveing commited maney Depridations on the Frontiers of Utah.[27]

While this feeling was general, it was not directed alike toward all Navajos. Some, such as Hamblin's old friend Spaneshanks, whose daughter had married Ira Hatch, a noted Indian scout, were recognized as friends. Enemies, too, were well known, and a surprising amount of detail had been gleaned as to what subtribes and bands had been involved in the raids of the past decade. Ammon M. Tenney, for example, professed to know that a certain renegade Ute called Pahtnish and his nondescript band of malcontent Navajos had killed two Utahns at Pipe Springs in 1866. In spite of tense moments when small parties met Pahtnish or other renegades, most Navajos went out of their way to be friendly, and it was a rare occasion when it was considered necessary to post guards against them. As far as this writer has been able to learn, the entire movement into Arizona was conducted with no loss of life to the Navajos. Settlers at the United Order villages on the lower Little Colorado were quickly accepted.[28] By 1878 missionaries in New Mexico

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[27] Ibid., pp. 19-20.

[28] During the first hard days on the Little Colorado, Lot Smith wrote:

> "Our relations with natives so far have been of the most friendly nature. One of them said he had been told we were coming and had little children, and thought they might be hungry. If so, he had

lived in very small groups or by themselves scattered among the Navajos, whom they found to be receptive to their message and of a generous make-up. As the years passed, a number of prominent Navajos joined the church in New Mexico and elsewhere. Without really understanding what church membership implied, they were most friendly to the Mormons. This was particularly so of two local chieftains of the Ramah area named Jose Pino and Jose Cojo. According to the later account of a man who grew up at Ramah, an easy and trusting friendship had developed between these chiefs and their people and the Mormon settlers by the late 1880's.[29]

However, during the early years there was an unsettled quality to Navajo good will, the brittle edges of which occasionally broke to lay

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> come. . . . The Navajo chief Comah said he was pleased to have us come and live here. They came with a white man as interpreter, and went away well pleased."

See letter to the Deseret News from Sunset, April 28, 1876 quoted in "History of the Little Colorado Stake."

[29] Paris Ira Ashcroft, whose father ran a trading post at Ramah, revealed a very thorough social integration on the part of at least one family and the Navajos when he reminisced:

> "Jose Pino was the Chief in that part of the land and had a very great influence on all the Indians in that neighborhood. The white settlers and navajos were very friendly toward each other. My parents let me go up in the canyon to visit the Pino family. I spent many days playing with his boy Manuel and his nephew Charley Cojo. Both were about my age. . . . I was too small to walk from our home to the Pino home, so Jose would carry me on his back most of the way, or if he was riding a horse, he would take me up behind him on the pony. I was very young when I went to visit with Manuel and Charley in the canyon--not more than six or seven."

"Life Sketch," (mimeographed copy in hands of Ida Galagher, Salt Lake City), p. 6.

bare their underlying pride and resentment. James S. Brown, explorer and founder of the mission at Moencopi, was frequently greeted by heckling and other annoying acts when he pressed himself upon the Navajos in a series of missionary trips in 1876 and 1877. Beneath such manifestations of hostility was a growing fear that the Mormon invasion would extend into Navajo lands. Although Brown and other missionaries frequently conferred with them in reference to this matter and on at least two occasions took deputations of important Navajos to Salt Lake City for consultation with Brigham Young, warning signals continued to appear. Even the more friendly and responsible leaders joined in the protest. Brown tells of a meeting with "Totoso-ne-Huste, the head chief of the Navajo nation," who on being informed of Mormon colonization plans requested that he be taken to Utah to discuss the question with church leaders there. If Brown's account may be trusted, the old chief expressed the Navajo point of view with restraint and kindness but also with clarity and firmness when he said:

> We are glad that you come among us as friends, that you are making a road through our country, and that you have built houses at Moencoppy. We want to live with you in peace and let your animals eat grass in peace. But water is scarce in this country, there is barely enough for our numerous flocks and increasing people, and our good old men do not want your people to build any more houses by the springs; nor do we want you to bring flocks to eat the grass about the springs.[30]

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[30] Brown, p. 491.

Two years later when Silas S. Smith and the explorers of the San Juan expedition made their way from Moencopi to the San Juan River, they were given a similar message but with much less restraint. Their livestock and lives threatened, the explorers averted disaster by capable diplomacy and by digging wells in the neighborhood of water holes which not only supplied their own animals but permanently enlarged the meager springs whose limited waters were the primary cause of most of the hostility.[31] Navajos in the Moencopi area levied something of an unstated tribute on the livestock of settlers there. Usually this was a matter of butchering single animals or stealing calves to be raised with sheep and goat herds. A relatively late outburst of Navajo hostility resulted in the already-mentioned death of Lot Smith in 1892.

Although resentment lay near the surface among the Navajos, they were no less responsive to Mormon proselyting than other Indians . Indeed, they may have received the message of the Book of Mormon and its story of a land belonging to the red man more readily than other northern Arizona Indians; certainly there were periods when missionaries were able to baptize hundreds of them. Although the church had been cognizant of the Navajos since 1831, James S. Brown claimed to have been the first to actually introduce them to the Book of Mormon. He found them receptive and on more than one occasion was greatly encouraged as large groups were moved to tears by their recognition of the "truth" of what he told them.[32] In the years after 1876, many of them were baptized in western New Mexico.[33] By 1878 success led to the establishment of a permanent Navajo mission station in the Savoia Valley under the leadership of William H. Gibbons. Luther C. Burnham and Ernest A. Tietjen were also prominent figures in missionary work in that area.[34] Perhaps the greatest success among the Navajos was achieved in the Cottonwood Wash area north of St. Joseph during 1883 and 1884. At that time upwards of one hundred were baptized by C. L. Christensen, John McLaws, and one or two other Mormons. In addition to graphic preaching as to the evils of "adultry, Whiskey drinking and Card Playing," the Indians may have been influenced in their conversion by a recent visit of one of their numbers to Washington, D. C. The visitor, an aged man "said the americans Were innumerable, He Said it made Him Sick to See the Sight and He Wished He Was Home." Dismayed at his report, the tribal fathers agreed that they "Would not go to War" in spite of the fact that four Navajos had recently been murdered by whites. Their conclusion to "do the Best they Could" in the face of the great odds may have had some bearing upon their alliance with the church.[35]

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[31] See "San Juan Stake History," CHO. Also see Miller, pp; 20-34.

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[32] Brown, pp. 481, 489.

[33] The missionaries saw much of the miraculous in their work. Lorenzo Hatch told of baptizing three Navajos: "One woman was carried in a blanket to the water. After baptism we administered to her, she got up and walked to her horse and rode away." See "Lorenzo Hill Hatch Journal," entry of May 12, 1877, p. 98.

[34] See "Ramah Ward Record," CHO.

Almost no effort was made to tutor the Navajos in the skills of industry and agriculture. This may have been due in part to the nomadic patterns of Navajo life; it may also have been a reflection of changing times and shifting of church attention from spiritual duties of the kingdom to the temporal necessities growing out of the mounting pressure placed upon it.

The Zunis

Missionary work among the Zunis was a direct outgrowth of Daniel W. Jones' expedition to Mexico in 1875-76. Two of his party--Ammon M. Tenney, who had been especially called late in 1874 to assist Jacob Hamblin in his work "across the river among the Navajoe nations," and Robert H. Smith--chose not to accompany Jones into Mexico and were "given the privilege of laboring in New Mexico among the Pueblos and Zunis."[36] Tenney and Smith arrived at Zuni on April 2,

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[35] See "Diary of Christian Lingo Christensen," pp. 49-51. Also see "Diary of John McLaws, Jr.," original in hands of John W. McLaws of Holbrook, Arizona and typed copy BYU, pp. 150-72. Among those baptized was an old man who claimed to have been in the 1877 Navajo deputation that visited Salt Lake City. It is said that he was the last man to shake the hand of Brigham Young, who, as James S. Brown verifies, passed away the same day as the Indians visited him. See Brown, p. 493.

[36] Tenney's letter of appointment is among the James W. LeSueur Papers, APHS. For the decision to send them to Mexico, see Jones, pp. 219-60.

1876. The Indians though initially somewhat reticent soon warmed, gathering in large numbers to hear them preach. In a narrative that is similar to accounts of initial contacts with other Indian tribes, Smith recounted the exciting events of their first days among the Zunis:

> We held meeting after meeting with them and explained to them the principles of the gospel, and also told them that the Book of Mormon was a history of their forefathers, which greatly pleased them, as they said it was in fulfillment of what had been promised them by their forefathers. Many of the leading men said they believed all we told them, and that their fathers had often told them that at some time in the future a class of intelligent people would come among them, and bring them a knowledge of whom they were and where they came from.[37]

After spending several weeks during which time they performed 111 baptisms, Tenney and Smith returned to Utah where they reported their success to Brigham Young. Wasting no time, the latter called Lorenzo H. Hatch and John Maughn to take their families and locate among the Pueblos. On their arrival in September, Maughn and Hatch worked diligently but enjoyed no repetition of the earlier success. Long exposed to whites and very much under the influence of their own spiritual advisers, the Zunis were now unmoved by the Mormon story.

Nevertheless, Mormon excitement over their associations with the Zunis did not subside for several years. The high anticipation stirred by the experience of Smith and Tenney was fortified by two subsequent events. The first of these involved the remarkable and rather thoroughly documented faith healing of about four hundred Zunis, many of whom had smallpox. Arriving at their village on January 20, 1878, Llewelyn Harris put up at a home where three children lay ill with the disease. During the night, he blessed the children, one of whom according to his own account had stopped breathing.[38] All three made sudden and complete recoveries. This word soon passed around the village and during the next few days Harris made his way from home to home leaving relief in his wake. The disease, however, continued to spread, and on a final day he began his ministry in a large room to which the stricken and the threatened came. Working from eight in the morning until sundown, he was told by a Mexican interpreter who accompanied him that he had blessed no fewer than 406 people, many of whom were healed.[39] As diverse accounts of these

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[37] See Robert H. Smith, "Among the Zunis," The Juvenile Instructor, XI (1876), 224.

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[38] Harris, who stayed with a Mormon Indian known as "Captain Lochee" was wakened during the night and told by his host that the latter's daughter was dying. The missionary later wrote:

> "I saw she was gasping for breath. I felt like administering to her then, but the Spirit of the Lord prompted me to wait a little longer. I waited until she had done gasping and she did not appear to breathe. The spirit of the Lord moved upon me very strong to administer to her, which I did; she revived and slept well."

Millennial Star, XLI (June 1879), 337.

[39] Harris later wrote that since he "was unable to visit all the houses" he

> "was taken to a house which had a large room. . . . When I entered the room I found they had gathered the sick from all parts of the village, till they had completely filled the house. The stench that arose and the horrible sight that met my eyes is beyond description. They had a Spaniard there, who understood the Zuni language, for an interpreter, who told me they wanted me to administer to all those who were sick in the room. . . . I commenced, and as fast as I administered to them they were removed, but other sick ones were

extraordinary proceedings worked their way back to Utah, they stirred such interest and controversy that finally Church Historian Orson Pratt investigated them. In addition to Harris' own account, Pratt took statements from A. M. Tenney and L. H. Hatch, respectively president and outgoing president of the Zuni mission. Their conversations with Zunis who were either healed or present when others were substantiated the general truthfulness of the story though no more specific estimate of the number involved could be had than vague statements that there were "lots of them."[40] Receiving wide coverage by word of mouth and in the Mormon press, this story is interesting in its own right, but it is summarized here primarily as an explanation for the persistence of great interest in the Zuni mission.

Another factor in the sustained enthusiasm for New Mexico's Pueblo Indians was a visit Wilford Woodruff paid them in 1879. The sedentary qualities that had attracted Spanish attention centuries before now wrought their influence upon him. Taking note of the "Zunis, Lagumas, and Isletas," he estimated that they numbered some 32,000 in forty vil-

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> continually being brought in. It was later in the afternoon before I could perceive that they began to diminish in numbers. When I had administered to the last one and went out, the sun had set and it was getting dark. The Spaniard who had stayed there all day asked me if I knew how many I had prayed for. I told him that I did not keep count; he said he had and that it was 406."

Ibid., p. 338.

[40] See letter of A. M. Tenney to L. H. Hatch, February 20, 1879, as quoted in _Millennial Star_, XLI (June 1879), 338.

lages, some of which were almost opulent by comparison with the destitute Indians he had seen elsewhere in the country. Conducted by Ammon M. Tenney, whose easy confidence and promoter's instinct captivated him, Woodruff's visit was highlighted by a rich experience among the "Lagoonie" Indians. Following powerful preaching by Woodruff, the elders began to leave but remained when they were told that this was no time to leave just as the Indians were first hearing of Christ as he should be taught. The impact of this experience upon Woodruff is clear in the following from his journal:

> This speech brought me to my feet. . . . The spirit of God rested upon me and I taught them in great plainess. . . . I felt as though we could soon baptize them all. . . . While I was speaking the oldest woman of the tribe over 80 years old arose and commenced talking. . . . She said that when she was a girl her Grand Father told her that when she became old, she would see men come from the west, who would teach them the gospel and work out salvation, redemption and deliverance to the Indian race and she says the men are here before us tonight.[41]

Impressed with their intelligence and achievements, Woodruff left New Mexico convinced that the Pueblos were no mere Lamanites cursed and benighted but actually "Nephites," a more righteous but generally extinct Book of Mormon people. The Zunis, he felt, were "in advance . . . of other Lamanites," the Lagumas "much above the Zunis, and the Isletas . . . far above them all." In correspondence with John

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[41] Woodruff felt that he was divinely directed in his visit to the Pueblos and that they had premonitions of his coming. He wrote: "In what way, I do not know, but in almost every village I visited, they were looking for me." See "Wilford Woodruff's Journal," August 18, 1879.

Taylor and the Council of the Twelve, he wrote freely of his impressions:

> Their bearing and dignity in their intercourse with strangers, and, above all else, the expansion of their minds and their capacity to receive any principle of the Gospel, such as endowments or sealing powers, fully equal the minds of any of the Anglo Saxon race. While I have been standing in the midst of that noble-minded people, teaching them the gospel, I could not make myself believe I was standing in the presence of American Indians or Lamanites, neither was I.[42]

The invitation to bring lost Israel to the fold seemed only too patent to Wilford Woodruff, and he concluded his letter:

> Thus, dear brethren, I have given you an outline, merely, of the field of labor which I consider the God of Israel has opened unto us, and which I consider the revelations of God require us to perform. I think there is element sufficient for forty good, faithful elders.[43]

Other problems demanded Woodruff's attention and the build-up of elders that he had visualized never occurred. Those that did come found the Pueblos apathetic or hostile with none of the enthusiasm that the apostle had stirred in them during his brief sojourn. For all the marvelous works of conversion and healing and for all of Woodruff's enthusiasm, the apathy of the natives and the pressures of colonization quickly brought the Zuni mission to naught.

It seems likely, however, that New Mexico's Pueblo Indians were indebted to the Mormons for one thing--the small pox. Brought into the region by migrating southern Saints who had been exposed en route during the late autumn of 1877, the disease affected most of the Mormon communities, but, through good fortune and quarantine practices which included posting guards around Indian villages to keep the natives home, the whites survived without heavy mortality.[44] Living in villages, the Pueblos were easy prey to the disease. In spite of the blessings of Llewelyn Harris and all other precautions and aids, they died in large numbers. Missionaries who passed through Zuni as the virulence of the disease abated in mid-February of 1878 "learned there had been from 150 to 200 deaths."[45] In all fairness, it should be noted that the disease might have ravaged the Pueblos had the Mormons never been heard of, as the Mormon migration was not the only movement on the frontier that year. However, without exception, Mormon accounts attribute their own affliction to contact with the southern Saints.

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[42] Letter of September 15, 1879 as quoted in Matthias F. Cowley, Wilford Woodruff, History of His Life and Labors as Recorded in His Daily Journals (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News, 1909), pp. 524-25.

[43] Ibid., p. 527. Woodruff moved immediately to put his plan into effect. Missionaries already in the field were directed to focus their efforts on the Zunis. He suggested other names to President John Taylor while expressing his hope that the "next conference will call some of them, at least, into the field." Ibid., p. 522.

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[44] Some settlers protected their families by closing their doors not only to Indians but to their fellow Saints. Others less fearful made their homes available to afflicted families, suffering with them if necessary. Out of the divergence of opinion as to what constituted the proper policy in this situation grew festering conflicts that marred relations on the Little Colorado for decades to come. The family of L. H. Hatch, for example, was among the quarantiners. Although Hatch was personally absent in Utah during the worst part of the epidemic, he faced repeated hearings based primarily on the charge that the Hatches had been less than brotherly. See "Lorenzo Hill Hatch Journal," p. 108. Also see letter from W. Woodruff to A. M. Tenney, May 31, 1880, Le Sueur Papers, APHS.

[45] Millennial Star, XLI (June 1879), 341.

The Apaches

During the years prior to Mormon colonization, Arizona had been, in the words of Senator Benjamin Wade, "just like hell," lacking only "water and good society."[46] The absence of good society was in no small part due to Apache hostilities which in the 1860's and the early 1870's had come near to being a way of life with whites as well as natives. Observing the situation, General E. O. C. Ord had written in 1879 that "hostilities in Arizona are kept up with a view of protecting the inhabitants, most of whom are supported by the hostilities."[47] Long beleaguered by Apaches, Arizona was thus something of a garrison territory--a fact which was not lost upon prospective immigrants, including the Mormons to whom its setting, filled with drawbacks as it was, did not appear entirely negative. Presented with a mandate to expand by its religious convictions, the church found in hostile Arizona not only the isolation and openness which it had long regarded as essential to its expansion but also hospitality on the part of Arizona's limited white population out of which, according to Prescott's Arizona Miner, the "long tusseles with the Apaches had knocked all nonesense."[48]

Tormented by their long "tussel" and the consequent slowness of colonization, Arizonians, including its territorial officials, welcomed the prospect of Mormon immigration. Elsewhere there was some tendency to see the Latter-day Saints as shock troops who would quell the Apaches and thus aid the general cause of the frontier. In this vein, one correspondent of the New York Journal of Commerce wrote as the first Mormon colonists approached Apache country in 1873:

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[46] Quoted by Howard Roberts Lamar, The Far Southwest 1846-1912: A Territorial History (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), p. 415.

[47] Ibid., p. 432.

[48] Deseret News, June 25, 1873.

> The true Apaches are the most intractable Indians in the world. . . and it would be the most wonderful metamorphosis in all history if Brigham Young could bring these human tigers into the snug and comfortable sheepfold of his Church, and they remain there peaceable and good and not devour the lambs. Doubting whether he has that regenerating power at his command, we shall not be surprised if he does not soon substitute trusty rifles for the sermons he is preparing to preach at the Apaches, and find the best use for those powerful compositions in gun-wadding. In other words, we expect that the Mormons will clean out the Apaches. If they do not, they will themselves be cleaned out. So large a Mormon population as will be transplanted to Arizona will, however, be more than a match for the dwindled Apache tribe. The proposed movement, regarded in any light, is a most important and interesting one; and whatever Young's secret motive may be, it will have the effect of preparing the way for the settlement and development of all of Arizona that is fit to inhabit.[49]

However, the first Mormon colonists were as awed by the Apache reputation as anyone and certainly entertained no idea of subduing them by force of arms. Charged not to penetrate too deeply into Apache land, the mission of 1873 had stalled on the desert some two hundred miles short of it and seemed only too glad to turn from the country without checking its prospects more closely. By 1876 this reticence was somewhat allayed. Early in the spring, the Daniel W. Jones expedition made its way safely through several tribes of Apaches and found fat Charles Cooley living with his two Apache wives within a few miles of the main camps of the White Mountain tribe on the White River. Jones' impression that the Camp Apache military attachment was competent to maintain tranquility was fortified during the summer as officers visited the encamped Mormons on the lower river and offered help in case of Indian unrest. By 1877, as we have seen in an earlier chapter, Mormon settlers were moving freely through Apache country and even going so far as to establish two settlements, Cluff's and Forest Dale closer to the Indians than Cooley himself. Others located at the head of the Little Colorado, Showlow Creek, and other remote spots with a casualness that raised sermons of protest from their leaders. In the main, however, the settlers' confidence was ratified by experience, as even during the rare periods of Apache unrest losses were not heavy.

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[49] Millennial Star, XXXV (August 1873), 543.

Not surprisingly, the Mormon approach to his Apache neighbors differed substantially from the pattern followed in relation to the other tribes. There appears to have been little hope of converting them. With the exception of a brief upsurge in Wilford Woodruff's interest when he accompanied the Apache war chief Pelone on a remarkable hunting trip and of the dogged determination of two Indian missionaries, Ebenezer Thayne and Llewelyn Harris, the tide of idealism that drew Mormons to the Hopis and the Zunis was notably lacking.[50] By 1882 Woodruff's mind had long since turned to other matters, and even the devotion of Thayne and Harris had lapsed. Although a lasting peace was achieved between the two peoples at that time, it was done at the cost of Mormon removal from Forest Dale. Thereafter, relations were not jeopardized by any further pretense at proselyting among the Apaches.

Another factor in the altered approach to the Apaches was that there was less need for missionary diplomacy to control them. The burden of defense was generally acknowledged to lie with the army detachment at Ft. Apache. The "peacemaker" role played earlier by Jacob Hamblin and to a degree by Indian missionaries among Arizona's other tribes was consequently less necessary.

There was, however, some occasion for Mormon diplomacy. Beginning with the daring raids of Victorio and his large band in the summer of 1880, Apache disorders became general by the next summer, finally reaching a climax and settlement in 1882. Having little recourse, the Mormon settlers of Alpine and other villages on the headwaters of the Little Colorado met Victorio with a policy of appeasement and retraction. By respecting life and limb above property, they were able to avert bloodshed, though nearly every horse in the entire region was sooner or later taken.[51]

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[50] An avid but not overly successful sportsman himself, Woodruff was enchanted and intrigued by a very successful hunting trip he made with Pelone. For a vivid account of the same, see "Wilford Woodruff's Journal," August 1, 1879.

The only armed brush with Victorio occurred when a group of the Mormons resisted turning over twelve horses the Indians wanted. Fighting a careful action as they retreated to "the little Mexican fort of Rita Camada," they escaped without injury though one horse was killed.[52] In the tense months that followed, the Apaches, including a number of Indian scouts who were nominally in the service of the U.S. Army, were rallied by an Indian prophet. Failing to effect his capture until the summer of 1881, the army then bungled it so badly that the scouts mutinied and attempted his rescue. In the ensuing melee, the prophet was killed along with several soldiers. The mutinied scouts then retired to the mountains where they remained at large until the entire thing blew over. Scattered Mormon ranchers were advised to move in and fort up.[53]

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[51] According to Evans Coleman, 125 horses were taken in one raid, most of them belonging to William Maxwell. Operating in large bands, the Indians became so brazen that horse herds were taken from the herders, who were motioned out of the way by the well-armed Indians. See "History of the Coleman Family," pp. 12-13.

[52] Ibid.

[53] The policy of retraction soon began to crack, and by early fall of 1881 settlers began to edge back to their scattered ranches to salvage what remained of their crops. Jesse N. Smith urged them not

> "to return at present to the outlying places, but be watchful and vigilant. Desired the brethren of Bush Valley to concentrate at Nutrioso, the brethren in Round Valley to continue fortifying at Omer and Amity and that the brethren at Reidhead carry out the plan given for that place, and if Bro. Whipple can gather around him ten or twelve good men they can locate above Reidhead but they should not take their families there until more peacable times."

The ranchers did not desist from their homeward movement and before

Erastus Snow, who "had lately come from Utah," advised that the "best way to preserve peace is to be prepared for war."[54] In conjunction with this charge, half-hearted attempts were made to build forts on the upper river and to organize militia companies. Likely the most impressive result was Ft. Moroni, which John W. Young built to house and defend his tie-cutting crews at Leroux Springs. Meantime, messengers maintained contact with more pacifically inclined Indians, and Mormon leaders joined Charles Cooley and army officers in an effort to bring an end to hostilities.

The final phase of this period of disorder came early in June of 1882. Reflecting the passing nature of the tension, Mormons had reoccupied Forest Dale late in 1881. Their return triggered a new, although fairly limited outburst which was aimed primarily at the Mormon settlers. Rightly convinced that Forest Dale lay on the reservation, White River Apaches pushed to rid themselves of the interlopers once and for all. When the settlers offered a cash settlement for the use of the land but resisted eviction, renegade bands swung north through the scattered ranches of Showlow Creek and west along the Mogollon Rim, killing and stealing livestock. Warned, most of the settlers left their ranches and belongings, pausing only to bring such things as were immediately at

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winter set in most of them were relocated on their property. See Journal of Jesse N. Smith, p. 256.

[54] Ibid., p. 254.

hand.[55]

Some, either unwarned or ignoring the warning, did not flee quickly enough. Merlin Plumb, meeting a small band of renegades at Silver Creek Crossing above Shumway, did not stay to contest the ground when fired upon. His horse grazed by a bullet, he raced for the settlements and arrived foam and blood flecked about an hour later at Taylor where he caused further excitement and anxiety. Nathan Robinson was not so lucky. Happening upon another band as they butchered his cows, he was killed and his body unceremoniously dumped in Showlow Creek where it was found the following day. Taking what half-dried jerky they could carry with them and driving a few head of stock, the Apaches disappeared into the mountains to the south. By now thoroughly alarmed, the Mormons worked quickly but with a good deal of haggling to arm themselves. At Taylor, St. Johns, and St. Joseph, militia groups were hastily organized and, as it became apparent that the scare was over, fell to pieces almost as quickly. Elsewhere guard was kept at night for a week or so, but by mid-June ranchers began to return home and soon things resumed their normal course--or they did everywhere except at Forest Dale. There the unwilling settlers were counseled that "it was better to leave the place than to bring on an Indian war by staying."[56] Though a few warm spirits threatened to contest the decision to handle the Apaches by appeasement, the reasons for yielding were overwhelming; soon even Forest Dale assumed what has since been its normal course and stands yet a pretty forest glade, stirring vague memories among Arizona Mormons of their most serious brush with the Apaches.

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[55] One woman is said to have fled leaving $1200 in gold coin at Reidhead which was duly retrieved by a posse sent out to get it. See "Incident in Jane Hatch's Youth," as narrated by Ann Hatch Lewis in "Diamond Jubilee Gems, Snowflake Stake of Zion, 1887-1962."

The Organization and Role of the Indian Mission

The Little Colorado colony was frequently referred to as an Indian mission. Colonists were told at the time of their call and frequently reminded that they were sent to "help carry the Gospel" to the Indians. Moreover, the colonist was charged to be circumspect in his treatment of the red men and was apt to face punitive action in church courts if he abused them. In part this was doubtless a matter of maintaining tranquil relations, but it was also hoped that the existence of a well-ordered and kindly Mormon community among them would make patent to the Indians the distinction between the Mormons and the Gentiles.

In spite of the emphasis upon the mission to the Lamanites, fraternization between the two peoples was relatively limited. In a few cases, Indians were instructed in the techniques of farming and water development. In others, they were taken into homes, either as children or by marriage.[57] As elsewhere on the Mormon frontier, it was deemed cheaper to feed than to fight the Indians, and they repeatedly received modest handouts in the form of food and old clothing. For most Little Coloradans, however, association with the Lamanites was much more a matter of talk than it was of practice. It is thus safe to say that the colony as a whole was an Indian mission only in the most general sense. It did provide, however, a supporting base from which active Indian missionaries worked. While its contributions may easily be overestimated, the colony gave some material aid to the active elders through donation and through the "missionary farms" which were worked in behalf of or reserved for the use of the missionaries.

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[56] Journal of Jesse N. Smith, p. 261.

The primary obligation for carrying the gospel to the Indians fell upon a small group of men. Rarely numbering more than a dozen or two and dwindling in size as sagging morale and poverty took their toll, they were confronted by almost insurmountable odds. During the first years, they were headed by presidents whose relationship to the stake organization, while somewhat indefinite, was generally conceded to be subordinate. First L. H. Hatch and then Ammon M. Tenney presided over the mission. Both were men of some stature; but both tired rather quickly, the former accepting a new assignment in the Eastern Arizona Stake presidency in 1878 and the latter turning his talents to railroad grading and other promotional activities after 1880. Thereafter, the mission limped along under the direction of the stake president who was able to give it only spasmodic attention. Missionaries were ordained as such and apparently had no other church obligations. With the exception of such limited help as came from the sources mentioned above, they were self-sustaining, Under these conditions, their work was occasional and varied greatly in extent and effectiveness. Llewelyn Harris and Ebenezer Thayne were either the most faithful missionaries of the earlier years or wrote more about their activities. Their perambulations carried them repeatedly from one end of the colony to the other with Harris, at least, ranging as far south as the San Carlos Apache Reservation.

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[57] In the case of the latter, the alliance always appears to have been between white men and Indian women rather than the other way around.

The general direction of the mission lay somewhat more in the hands of visiting authorities from Salt Lake City than did other church matters. Of the many apostles who traveled in Arizona before 1890, Wilford Woodruff and Brigham Young, Jr., took the most active interest in the Indians. Woodruff's influence was great but short lived. Brigham Young, Jr., who by 1882 had replaced aging Erastus Snow as the primary agent of colonization on the Colorado Plateau, had the most lasting effect upon the work among the Lamanites. For several years after 1883 as polygamy charges forced the Mormon apostles to leave Salt Lake City, the church sought to capitalize upon their exile by revitalizing the various Indian missions. Giving Young and his traveling companion, most generally Heber J. Grant, something to do, the renewed emphasis also served to bring the Indians into closer contact with the Mormons, enabling the latter to counter adverse influences during this threatening time. Assuming the hispanized alias of B. Joven, Young spent much of his time on the Colorado Plateau during the next four or five years.[58] Reminding settlers that "every man and woman in this country . . . are called to assist in this labor of civilizing the Lamanites," he soon stirred the mission into activity again.[59] While little permanent spiritual gain appears to have been made, Mormon control over the Lamanites which had slipped during 1881 and 1882 was temporarily tightened.

As indicated in the foregoing paragraph, missionaries served as diplomats and agents of control. Jacob Hamblin, who, incidentally, was entirely superceded as missionary and explorer within a year or so of his migration to Arizona in 1879, had served as an emissary of peace and a good-will ambassador during all his long activity on the Utah frontier.[60] By merit of their greater intimacy with the Indians, missionaries continued to play this role. During the tense times at Forest Dale, for example, Harris and Thayne stood not only between less altruistically inclined Mormons and the aggrieved Indians but also negotiated with the army and Indian agent at Ft. Apache. Far across the Little Colorado Basin at Moencopi, Christian Lingo Christensen was also a frequent intermediary. Arriving home in May of 1885 after a period of exile in Mexico, Christensen was greeted by a delegation of his townsmen demanding that he sign a petition requesting the removal of the Indians. Refusing, he soon placed himself in touch with Chief Tuba, who thought that the roots of discord lay in the fact that there had been no interpreter during Christensen's absence. The friction continuing, Christensen repeatedly sought out the old chief and, after negotiations that proceeded intermittently for the better part of a year, was finally able to restore mutual good feeling and cooperation.[61] Heeded and trusted, such men made a vital contribution to what James H. McClintock has called a "Peaceful Conquest" as the Mormons settled in Arizona.[62]

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[58] According to one oral report, Young made his headquarters in the rough country northwest of Bluff in southeastern Utah. While there he is said to have found time among his missionary activities to take two additional wives from among local Mormon girls. From a personal interview with Judge Fred W. Keller of Price, Utah, February 2, 1967. Judge Keller spent many years in the early part of the century in the San Juan area where he became thoroughly conversant with the folklore of the region.

[59] "Minutes of Eastern Arizona Stake Conferences," p. 25.

[60] Hamblin's ordination as "Apostle to the Lamanites" in December of 1876 appears to have been in the nature of a reward for past ser-

Mormons were prone to attribute the general peace that followed their arrival in Arizona Territory to their constraining influence and di-

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vice not as a new grant of authority for greater service to the church. If this were not the original intent, Brigham Young's death in 1877 seemed to make it so. Bypassed in favor of younger men, his years in Arizona were definitely postlude to the great years that had gone before.

[61] "Diary of Christian Lingo Christensen," pp. 70, 85.

[62] See title page of McClintock.

plomacy. Perhaps the most assertive claim of this kind was made by Erastus Snow at a Salt Lake City conference in 1882, a few months after he had witnessed the Apache "prophet uprising" first hand. He declared:

> To-day the American nation is indebted for the spirit of " Mormonism" that had been diffused through this mountainous country in the maintenance of peace, and the saving to the nation of millions of treasure as well as thousands of lives. . . . The wars that have troubled the country during the last five years . . . have been, to my certain knowledge, greatly mitigated by the presence of our colonies on their borders, and by the labors of our missionaries among the Indians. . . . And I am a witness to this fact, that in every instance where the influence of our missionaries and our colonies has been exerted upon these fallen people, their chiefs have been imbued with the spirit of peace, and they in turn have exerted their influence on the side of peace. . . . And when they . . . have come to us to know our views and to seek our counsel, our advice has always been in the interest of peace, in the spirit of kindness; we have always taught them to restrain their hostile feelings, and have portrayed to them the benefits of peace, forbearance and longsuffering, and advised them to endure what they considered wrong rather than to attempt to redress their wrongs in their feeble, helpless condition, by taking up arms against the strong and powerful government of the United States; and besides, that it was displeasing to God.[63]

While it is difficult if not impossible to assess the real influence of Mormon missionaries and colonization upon Indian belligerance, there is no question that such influence as they did possess was exerted in behalf of peace. In spite of occasional concern on the part of the country's Gentiles that the missionaries were masterminding some kind of a diabolic Indian uprising reminiscent of the Mountain Meadows Massacre, there can be no question of the sincerity of their interest in a general and lasting tranquility.

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[63] Journal of Discourses, XXIII, 8-10.

Snow's candid proclamation that Mormon diplomacy was responsible for the general decline of Indian hostilities raises the broader question of the relationship between Mormon altruism and the expansion of the church. Certainly missionary activity was used as a pacifying agent, thus helping to render habitable areas in which hostile tribes made their homes. Moreover, the coincidence of the kingdom's extension and of periods of resurgent concern for the soul of the Lamanite suggests that Mormons found the Indian's regeneration to be more urgent when they had designs upon his lands.

Never really forgotten, this interest in the reclamation of lost Israel was of greater moment at some times than others. Although it may have been only of casual significance, mission interest mounted as colonization was pushed into northern Arizona. Remaining high as long as the future of the colony was insecure, it subsided as the right to share the country was established only to revive briefly, as we have seen, when the polygamy raids again placed the life of the community in jeopardy. The sermons of the period during which colonization was initiated often related the outward movement and the carrying of the gospel to the Indians. Perhaps no one sounded the theme more clearly than did Orson Pratt. Speaking in Salt Lake City in 1875, he called upon Latter-day Saints to redouble their efforts to redeem the Lamanites. Making the red man's conversion one of the prerequisites to the cherished Mormon dream of returning to Jackson County, Missouri, he declared:

> This people--the Latter-day Saints, before they can ever return to build up the waste places of Zion and receive their inheritances in Jackson County, Missouri, have got to exert themselves to bring the remnants of Joseph to a knowledge of the truth. We have not made any very great exertions in this direction unto the present time. The Lord has given us time since he brought the fulness of the gospel from among the Gentiles to lay a foundation so that we could commence this missionary work in behalf of and among the remnants of Joseph. We have got the foundation laid . . . we have begun to prosper in the land, so that now I think, is the time for us to wake up our minds in relation to the scattered remnants.[64]

Not surprisingly, the consciousness of obligation to the Indians appears to have been sharpest in those areas where contact with them was frequent. Among those who noticed this was Mrs. Thomas L. Kane. Making a trip south through Utah in 1873, she wrote of the fervency with which some southern Saints petitioned for the Indians, praying that they "might see visions and dream dreams that would lead them to embrace the truth."[65]

If depth of feeling grew from association with the Indians, it was also the product of the emphasis placed upon the matter by church leaders in their intercourse with the inhabitants of frontier areas. In addition to constant verbal exhortation, the Salt Lake authorities bombarded the Little Colorado settlers with directives relative to the subject. Typical was Brigham Young's letter of July 15, 1876, from which these lines have been excerpted:

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[64] Deseret News, March 3, 1875.

[65] Mrs. Thomas L. Kane, Pandemonium or Arcadia: Which? Twelve Mormon Homes Visited in Succession on a Journey Through Utah to Arizona (Philadelphia: 1874), p. 149.

> We desire that the settlements in the Little Colorado be built up to the Lord in righteousness, wherein an example will be set to the surrounding tribes of the Lamanites. . . . Treat them with kindness . . . set a proper example. . . . Instruct them in the Gospel. . . . Teach them to live in peace, become free from native vices and become useful citizens in the Kingdom.[66]

And again:

> Your present position is an important one, surrounded as you are by the Lamanites. The influence of your settlements will spread. . . . It is desireable, yes it is indispensably necessary that influence be of the proper character. The Lamanites may receive an immense amount of wickedness from the so-called christians but from us they are to receive the gospel of the Son of God.[67]

It is significant that the major revival of the mission of regeneration coincided with the polygamy raids. One important development that grew from the crisis was the renewed effort to carry the Mormon frontier on into Mexico. With an eye on what Albert K. Weinberg has termed "the land dowry of Mexico," the church's interest in missionary work among Mexican Indians, at low ebb for several years, once again revived.[68] Reflecting a new awareness of duty, Brigham Young, Jr., told Little Coloradans in 1883 that:

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[66] Letter to Lot Smith et al., Lot Smith Papers, UA.

[67] Ibid., January 10, 1877.

[68] Albert K. Weinberg, Manifest Destiny: A Study of Nationalist Expansionism in American History (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1935)

> the time is now come to preach to the Lamanites. The leaders of the Church have in view the 5,000,000 of Lamanites located in Mexico. /We/ Never before knew how dark were the minds of those people.[69]

But the revival which led to the establishment of a permanent Mexican mission was a passing thing in northern Arizona. Soon the more immediate and practical challenges incident to living on the Little Colorado demanded the attention of settlers there, and as in the earlier case brave designs were forgotten and "Joseph's remnants" remained unregenerate.

In summary, it may be noted that Mormon missionary work among northern Arizona's Indians produced very little in the way of spiritual change in the Lamanites. Although it was a much-talked theme and psychologically important, more practical and self-oriented pursuits occupied most of the settler's time. As a result, only a few hundred Indians were baptized. A handful of these remained in contact with the church. None really became part of the Mormon community and none escaped the heritage of his past.

However, when considered as an agency of control on an expanding frontier, the Indian mission was more effective. As observers and diplomats, missionaries greatly facilitated colonization. Furthermore, the prospect of superintending the regeneration and civilization of lost Israel helped mitigate the drudgery and sacrifice of pioneering and tended to obscure moral questions relative to the takeover of areas previously held by the Indians. Completely sincere in its professions of pacificism, the mission impulse also helped make the occupation of the Little Colorado frontier remarkably free of violence and bloodshed. Thus, in its major stated purpose of regeneration, the mission fell short. As an agency of expansion, it was of real utility.

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[69] "Minutes of Eastern Arizona Stake Conferences, 1883-1886," March 25, 1883. It is interesting to note that at the same meeting where he expressed the above sentiments, Young told Mormon listeners who were having some difficulty with their Mexican neighbors at Concho: "If you are faithful and true to your religion the native Mexicans will not trouble you, but will sluff off and leave you." See Journal of Jesse N. Smith, p. 268.

CHAPTER X

POLITICS AND EXPANSION

The Forces of Arizona Politics and the Arrival of the Mormons

Although they had not been articulated into a cogent program, certain political values and patterns had emerged from Mormon doctrines and practices by the time colonization of the Little Colorado River was initiated in 1876. Thoroughly understood by most members of the Mormon community, such considerations influenced both the movement into northern Arizona and the political conduct of the colonists once they arrived.

Symbolizing Mormon peculiarity, polygamy had already drawn heavy fire and remained at the forefront of church political maneuverings until after 1890. In another territory and still largely without law, the Little Colorado promised flexibility of action and broadened the legal realm within which beleagured polygamists could operate. Less spectacular but in the long run more important were certain other commitments. Paramount among these was an apocalyptic and, to non-Mormons, galling faith in the ultimate predominance of Mormon ideas and institutions. As we have seen, the isolationism of oasis agriculture with its stubborn rejection of most of the conventional economic activities around which frontier politics turned was also a well-established article of faith. Tempered in the forge of two unhappy political experiences in the midwest where the dilemma of their status as a peculiar minority had been left to local adjustment in spite of appeals for federal intervention, Mormons had long since decided that their best defense lay in a strong states rightism which under the practical circumstances of Utah came near meaning the automomy of the church. Likewise apparent in the movement to Arizona was the Mormon affinity for open, unattractive country. Having successfully claimed one such region by arriving first and filling it with colonists, they now hoped that the Little Colorado could be made an adjunct of the kingdom by following the same processes of prior occupation and numerical build-up.

In 1876 much of northern Arizona was beyond the effective pale of territorial government. Although it boasted the territory's capitol and one of its three concentrations of population, Yavapai County which extended over the northeastern two-thirds of Arizona nevertheless included vast regions that were nearly devoid of civilized life. This was particularly true of the northern and eastern parts of the county which were without settlement except at Pipe Springs, a few ranches on the Arizona strip, the two villages of St. Johns and Springerville, and scattered ranches on the Little Colorado. Little or no attempt had been made to extend the county's jurisdiction into these remote areas. Yet, prompted by the prospective development of Colorado River traffic and by the contested jurisdiction over what is presently the southern point of Nevada, the legislature had organized Mohave County in 1864 and in the following year Pah

Ute County which was taken over by Nevada in 1869. In the latter, Mormon settlers at Callville and on the Muddy River shared in the offices of government, sending Royal J. Cutler and Andrew S. Gibbons, Arizona's first Mormon representatives, to the Territorial Legislature in 1866 and 1868.[1] In marked contrast to their experience with Nevada government, Pah Ute Mormons were well treated and encouraged to believe that they would meet few hostile policies in Arizona.

Thus, prior experience as well as the Little Colorado's lack of population and effective government seemed to augur well for Mormon plans of prior occupation and self-rule, but there were other factors that were less promising. The void into which they moved was by no means absolute, for a number of well-fixed elements were already discernible on the political horizons with others rising as the Mormons advanced. In the first place, supplying the army and repressing the Indians had become a way of life for many Arizonians. This, together with the quest for public office, had given rise to the so-called Federal Ring which sought to control both the economic and political affairs of the territory to its own benefit. Other early Arizonians conceived it to be the government's business to take the forefront in the fields of mining and transportation development and, long ere the Mormons arrived, well-organized and powerfully placed groups of promoters had made territorial politics a vehicle to these interests. Furthermore, a class of merchant princes aligned with

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[1] McClintock, p. 106.

California finance existed side by side with the miner, Indian fighter, and railroad speculator and, as elsewhere in the West, played a major role in the political genesis of Arizona. Interested in overland freighting as well as Colorado River navigation, some of these individuals had great power; others, less significant generally, were very important regionally. Among the latter were Solomon Barth and Don Lorenzo Hubbell and his sons who early established themselves in northeastern Arizona, trading and carrying freight for the army, Indian agencies, and mining enterprises. They and others who came later like the Schusters at Holbrook and the Babbitt brothers at Flagstaff, were key political figures if not indeed the locus of real power during much of the first two decades of the Little Colorado colony's existence. With the advent of the Mormons, farming for the first time became an important element. While they constituted the most numerous group of farmers throughout the entire period of this study, their preoccupation with other problems and their failure to effect a lasting alliance with other agricultural interests sharply curtailed their political potential. With the construction of two railroads in the early 1880's, the country's natural grazing resources were quickly developed, interjecting a final vocal and betimes powerful element into territorial politics.[2]

Thus instead of finding a political void in which their needs for autonomy and isolation could be fulfilled peaceably, Mormon migrants pushed into a community in which Indian affairs, mining, frontier merchandising, transportation, agriculture, and livestock had, or soon established, vested interests in the governance of the territory. Breaking with the economic orientation that each of these other elements had in common, the Mormons were neither in nor out of politics. Persisting in their hope that in numerical superiority lay the basis of self-rule, they pursued a nonaggressive policy, sometimes seeming to seek peace and quiet by sinking beneath the political current and then again trying to meet their minimum needs through cooperative action with varying political factions. Although such tactics never permitted them to take a prominent role in Arizona politics, they were successful in the minimum sense.

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[2] For a recent analysis of Arizona political experience prior to statehood, see Lamar.

However, Mormon policy was less successful on the Little Colorado where the Mormon-Gentile collision was more violent than it was elsewhere in the territory. Perhaps the explanation for the intensity of conflict there lay in the fact that it was the area of heaviest Mormon population. Uneasy in the face of the church's numerical build-up, politicians tended to let the Mormon question override other issues and saw in it an exaggerated threat to their own interests.

Another factor that contributed to the Mormon-Gentile discord of the 1880's was the general moral laxity of Arizona politics. Law and order were under constant attack as opportunism and personal interest exceeded the bounds of propriety even for that permissive age. A raw mix of personal fortune-hunting and quest for public office effected political events at every level of government. The dealings of John C. Fremont, who openly used his power as governor to advance mining and agricultural enterprises in which he was interested, are well known and were sufficiently well known at the time to bring cries of "federal carpetbagger" from his contemporaries who resented the success of his upstart practices more than they shrank from their moral implications.[3] Less well known were the involvements of Governor A. P. K. Safford. One of the incorporators of the Atlantic and Pacific line, he was also an agent for Collis P. Huntington's Southern Pacific. With funds advanced by the latter, he reputedly bought legislative support for favorable charters, carefully returning such monies as he had not expended to the Southern Pacific.[4]

Territorial Legislatures were likewise susceptible to corruption. This seems to have been particularly true in the years of general lawlessness which characterized the mining boom that followed in the wake of the railroad's advent. The Thirteenth Legislature of 1885 especially was distinguished by its reckless extravagance and illegal use of public funds.[5]

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[3] The Arizona Citizen reported that Fremont had made "bar'ls of money' by placing Arizona mines at the East" and that a cohort federal Judge Charles Silent had done so well that he acted "as if he was rich enough to tell the Department of Justice to pull down its vest." Arizona Citizen, June 10, 1879, as quoted in Lamar, pp. 469-70. Also see Allan Nevins, Fremont, Pathmarker of the West (New York: Appleton-Century Co., 1939), pp. 603-604.

[4] This bit of under-the-table play came to light in 1888, prompting President Harrison to act negatively on Safford's bid for a second appointment as territorial governor. See E. E. Williams, "Anson Peacely-Killen Safford," Arizona Historical Review, VII, #1 (1936), 81, who quotes Joseph Fish's "History of Arizona."

In northern Arizona, the years after the completion of the Atlantic and Pacific were noteworthy for their disorder and violence as the stockman's frontier finally penetrated the area. Texas cowboys, many of them hardened criminals, were brought in by the big cattle companies and with the tacit approval of their employers harassed and bedeviled the region's squatters. An early manifestation of growing tensions between lawless elements erupted in St. Johns in 1882 onwhat Mormons called "San Juan Dia"--June 23--when the founding of Mexican St. Johns was celebrated. Cowboys from nearby Greer's Ranch, having previously "under sloped" the ear of a Mexican suspected of cattle theft, rode into town, buying all the ammunition available as they came to join in the festivities. Taking the initiative, the Mexicans ordered the cowboys out, opening fire when they refused to comply. Before hostilities had ceased, two men--a cowboy, James Vaughn, and a venerable Mormon, Nathan C. Tenney, who had intervened hoping to avert further violence--were dead and several others wounded. During the years that followed, land-jumping, cattle-stealing, beatings, and murder characterized the entire region. At the center of this upsurge of violence was the Pleasant Valley War in which cattlemen and sheepmen struggled to dominate the range lands of the Mogollon Rim and Tonto Basin country. Although somewhat removed from the vortex of this storm, Holbrook and St. Johns and the villages and ranches around them were the scene of much bloodshed. Joseph Fish chronicles some fifty violent killings in the neighborhood of Holbrook alone during the decade after the railroad was built.[6]

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[5] Grand juries sitting contemporaneously with the Thirteenth Legislature, one at Tucson and one at Prescott, exceeded the limits of their formal jurisdiction to call public attention to its "wanton extravagance . . . and open violation of the law." Thousands of dollars were appropriated to pay clerks for whom there was no legitimate function, their only purpose being to advance the political fortunes of the legislators involved. See George H. Kelly, Legislative History, Arizona 1864-1912 (Phoenix: Manufacturing Stationers, 1926).

Violence reached a climax in 1887; thereafter, law and order was restored but the process of restoration was itself bloody and characterized by irregularities and questionable extralegal action. Commodore P. Owens, sheriff of Apache County, faced and killed four desperados in Holbrook on September 4, 1887, in one of the West's bloodiest shoot-outs. Less than a year later, three men widely believed to be involved in running stolen horses to the Salt River Valley were lynched in Phoenix Park some sixty miles southwest of Holbrook by so-called vigilantes, likely at the instance of James D. Houck, sometime territorial legislator and prominent Apache County politician. While Earle Forrest in the most sober study of the event concludes that Houck precipitated the hanging in order to acquire the ranch of one of the victims, contemporary Mormon accounts attributed it to a justified vigilante action and agreed that its effect was positive.[7]

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[6] See Fish, "History of the Eastern Arizona Stake," pp. 71-75.

[7] The three men were young Jim Stott, who claimed a ranch at Phoenix Park, and two drifters, Jim Scott and Billy Wilson, a cowboy and

Vigilante activity by various ad hoc citizen groups was generally countenanced and played an important role in the country's efforts to cleanse itself. Even the Mormons, though they professed to be sensitive to injustice and extralegal tactics, took an active hand in running unwanted elements from the country. For example, pious and careful Joseph Fish joined two other Holbrook men during the winter of 1892 to expel several bums from town, telling them that

> if they were found in this place again they would be hung, and they [Fish's associates] gave them a few kicks to start them off and as they ran we fired a few shots just over their heads. They left on the run as we threatened to kill them if they were seen in town again. I think that this had a good effect as we had been bothered considerably with tramps.[8]

In addition to the controlling force exerted by such local factors, the politics of Arizona Territory had undergone a process of Americanization by 1890. The politics of opportunism and frontier economic development were yielding to issues that were increasingly national and forces that were increasingly institutionalized and subject to the regular machinery of the law.

Propelled in large measure by factors not of their own making,

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prospector, respectively, who were unlucky enough to be at Stott's on the morning of the hanging. Stott, Scott, and Wilson may be among the West's most cut-down lynch victims, at least so it would seem as Earle Forrest's account cites two firsthand interviews with men claiming to have done the honor, while Mormon lore still attributes the deed to William J. Flake. See Earle R. Forrest, Arizona's Dark and Bloody Ground (rev. ed; Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1952), pp. 193-219.

[8] "Autobiography of Joseph Fish," p. 289.

Little Colorado Mormons were carried along in both the lawlessness that characterized the early and middle 1880's and the process of adjustment that was emerging by the decade's end. We will turn now to a more detailed study of their entry to the Little Colorado and the course of political affairs in Apache County.

Apache County Politics: The Early Phase

Its economic and political development lagging, Arizona was not adverse to colonization by the Mormons. Their success in cultivating desert lands and in living closely and peaceably with Utah's Indians seemed to suit them well for Arizona's conditions. Informed of such attitudes before colonization was formally launched, settlers were further encouraged by the contacts they had with Arizona officials during their first months on the Little Colorado. In addition to contact with various county officials, they were visited by Governor A. P. K. Safford, who came to the Little Colorado during the fall of 1876 on one of his wonted territorial perambulations. Finding Mormon colonists to be "energetic, industrious, economical," and "self-relying people," he wrote the Arizona Citizen that they were just the sort needed to "use the vast unproductive lands of Arizona." While with them, he listened to their protest against the relatively high property tax imposed by the Territorial Legislature which up to that time had had no real farming interest to consider in its deliberations. Without espousing their low-tax cause, he won their good will by proposing (which cost him little politically as immediate jurisdiction lay in the hands of the county board of supervisors) to exempt temporarily "the toil worn immigrant who had come here with his wife and little ones to make a new home . . . from the burthen of taxation."[9]

Scattered and remote though they were, settlements in eastern Arizona were already developing vague political lines when the Little Colorado colony was founded. Within two years, these nascent stirrings took definite form. Together with colleagues at Globe in the east end of neighboring Maricopa County, mining interests at Clifton in the far south of Yavapai County were maneuvering for political advantage. At St. Johns an ambitious merchant group headed by Sol Barth and the Hubbells was taking form, while at Springerville and elsewhere about the region a low-tax agricultural faction was becoming increasingly aware of its distinct identity.

Diverse in their political interest, these three elements nevertheless shared one common aspiration--the creation of a new county which would bring both the locus of government and its control more within their reach. Agreeing that the name of the new subdivision should be Apache

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[9] See Safford to the Arizona Citizen quoted in the Deseret News, December 20, 1876. Writing in November of 1876, Brigham Young had advised Little Colorado settlers to "draft a memorial to the Governor and Legislative Assembly praying for present exemption from taxation on ground of being newly arrived settlers . . . asking as infant colonies, at least immunity from Territorial and County taxation until you become productive." Accustomed to property tax ranging from one-fourth to three-fourths of one percent in Utah, settlers found Arizona taxes which ran from 3 to 4 percent "perfectly startling." See letter of Brigham Young to Lot Smith, Nobember 25, 1876, Lot Smith Papers, UA.

County, they split sharply over the location of its seat. By the fall of 1878, this issue had become a matter of heated political contention everywhere on the east side of the county except among the Mormons. Busy with problems of colonization and admonished by Brigham Young to eschew every vestige of "party conflict" even if it meant sacrificing their right to vote, they took little "interest in . . . the county seat" quarrel or in politics generally.[10] Running no candidates of their own, the Mormons were not only uncommitted but comprised the largest and most united group of voters in the precinct. As such, they were not permitted the luxury of total nonparticipation. Courted by each of the factions, they apparently followed economic dictates, giving most of their votes to the low-tax or Springerville candidates.[11] Among the latter was their friend James Stinson, who was elected to the Territorial Assembly.

At the legislature Stinson pushed through a bill creating Apache County which included all the Mormon settlements of northern Arizona except Moencopi.[12] He also staved off the determined attempts of the min-

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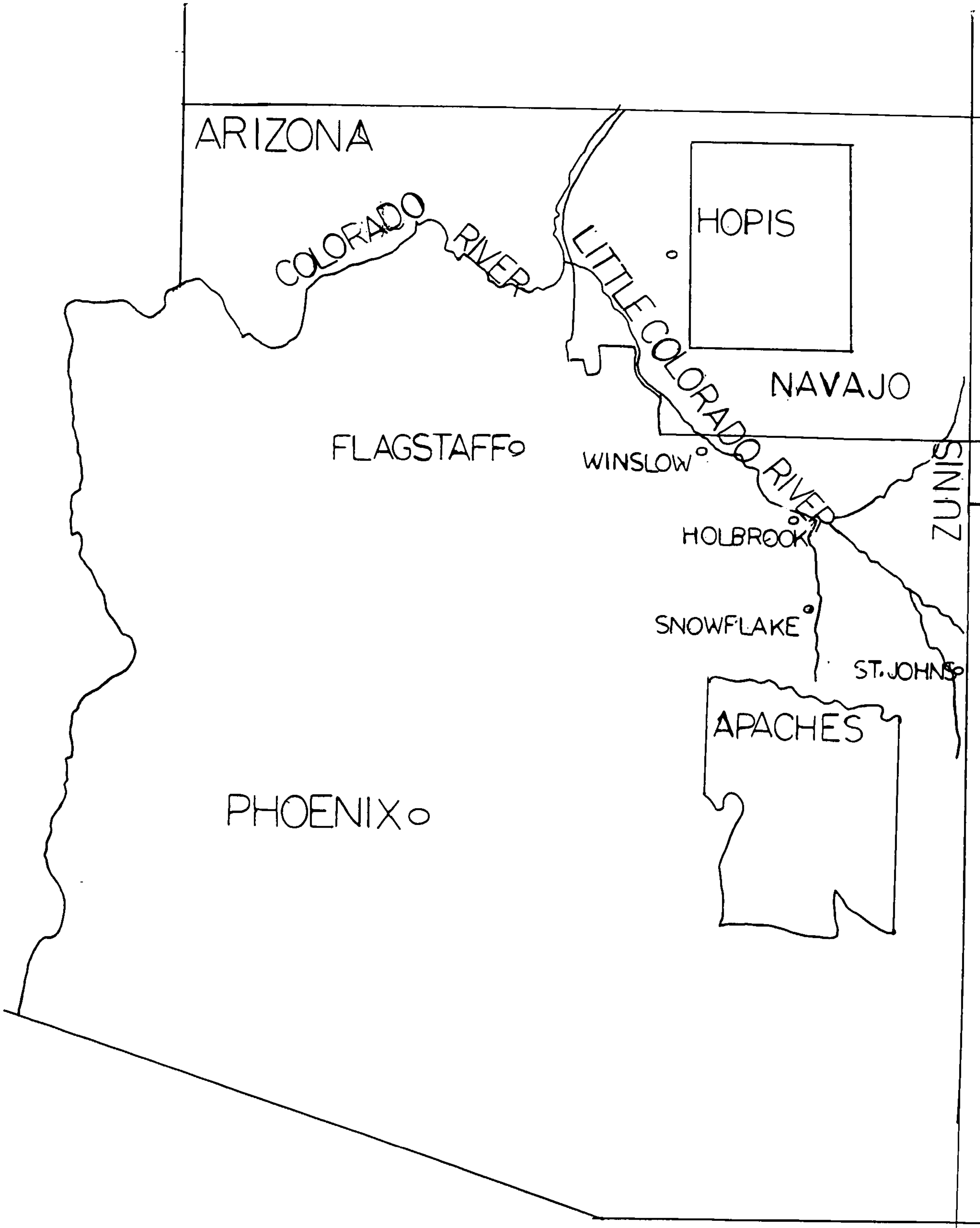
[10] "Autobiography of Joseph Fish," p. 160.

[11] Erastus Snow, who was in the area at the time, met several electioneering parties, all of whom were "very anxious to obtain the votes of our people for, as they say, 'your people generally vote one way, and whoever is successful in obtaining their votes must certainly be elected.' They are very friendly, and give assurances of their good will towards our settlers on this river and its tributaries." Deseret News, October 23, 1878.

[12] For a map showing Arizona's early counties, see the following page.


ARIZONA
COLORADO RIVER
LITTLE COLORADO RIVER
HOPIS
NAVAJO
ZUNIS
FLAGSTAFF
WINSLOW
HOLBROOK
SNOWFLAKE
ST. JOHNS
APACHES
PHOENIX

INDIAN LANDS AND THE LITTLE COLORADO

Map 4

ing and merchant interests to capture its seat. With the aid of St. Johns lobbyists, Globe was neatly and finally disposed of by leaving it under the jurisdiction of Maricopa County. Barth and his friends from St. Johns were not so easily frustrated, but Stinson was able to give them temporary check by locating the county seat at Snowflake until the people of the county could decide its permanent site and choose its officers in a special election. Taking the important interim appointment of probate judge for himself, he threw a number of significant if temporary county offices to the Mormons, including several justices of the peace, the county recorder and one seat on the powerful board of supervisors.[13] At first glance, Stinson's action appears to indicate both his closeness to the Mormons and their power in the county. Closer examination, however, reveals that it was more likely the result of their neutrality and general political impotence. Stymied in his efforts to make Springerville the county seat and capture most of the offices for his low-tax colleagues, Stinson, it seems certain, had been forced to work out a modus vivendi, with the Barth forces giving the county seat to the Mormons, hoping that by so doing he could win their support for a future test of strength.

This test came in the special election of June 1879. Well aware that they were caught up in a sharp controversy, the Mormons continued to play a cautious and passive role. Submitting tamely enough to the loss of the county seat, they failed to satisfy anyone when , seeking to avoid a head-on collision, they refused to take an official stand supporting either Springerville or St. Johns. Voting individually, they backed Springerville, giving it a clear victory at the polls which was negated, according to Mormon sources, by ballot box stuffing and fraud in counting by the St. Johns forces. Protests lodged with the Board of Supervisors immediately after the votes has been counted were ultimately appealed to Prescott; but the Barths were able to impede action so that while the county seat was moved to Springerville by court order all the St. Johns officers retained their positions and were able to control the next election this time taking the seat permanently.

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[13] Fish, "History of the Eastern Arizona Stake," p. 30.

During the months that followed, the Springerville element lost much of its identity, merging with the Barth interests or throwing in with the Mormons, who supplemented by continuing immigration became increasingly important. Still hoping to avoid an open political rupture, the Mormons sought to acquire control of the Little Colorado by buying Barth's St. Johns' holdings. Encouraged by the precedent set by Stinson and other landholders who had moved away after selling to them, they hoped that Barth likewise would depart and that with him gone, the rest of the St. Johns Ring, as Mormons were now calling the merchant faction, would follow suit leaving no effective opposition in the county. But Barth had no intention of abandoning the field. Retaining his commercial enterprises as well as the connections with the region's Mexican people upon whom his political power rested, he continued to assert great influence upon the course of Apache County politics for many years.

Adopting a more conciliatory policy as the election of 1880 approached, the Latter-day Saints scheduled an autumn nominating convention at Snowflake to which they planned to invite Barth, who had signified some willingness to cooperate. The primary responsibility for bringing him along was placed upon Ammon Tenney, who had successfully negotiated the land purchase with him the previous fall. However, busy in the grading contracts of that summer, Tenney failed to make contact with either the Barths or his own colleagues. Not hearing from him, the latter presumed that the hoped-for rapprochement had fallen through, and proceeding independently made up their own ticket. Uninformed of this action, Tenney finally met with Frank Hubbell representing the St. Johns faction and in a notable deviation from the Mormon policy of caution pledged the Mormon vote to "the compromise ticket" which he and Hubbell "slated out" at that time.[14] Learning of the Snowflake ticket, Barth took umbrage and refused to be placated, notwithstanding the efforts of several of the apostles who sought him out and attempted to explain what had happened. Resorting again to fraud and chicanery at the polls, the Ring easily retained political power. Although fissures sometimes permitted hope of a political denouement, the St. Johns Ring as a whole showed no further inclination to cooperate with the Mormons until late in the decade when time had swept away many of the earlier issues and personalities.

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[14] "Autobiography of Joseph Fish," p. 173.

Until 1884 the Mormons continued to follow a submissive political policy at the same time carrying on an aggressive colonizing program --especially at St. Johns--which negated much of the advantage of their political self-restraint. The immediate issues that divided Mormons and Gentiles in Apache County during these years were almost entirely local. Originally more the means of the controversy than its cause, the polygamy question became increasingly important until by 1884 it dominated the scene. In the original stages of the conflict, neither faction appears to have had outside affiliation except the relationship of the Mormons to the church which was a constant of the entire period of this study. However, as heat was generated and the polygamy issue interjected, the Ring found it could rely upon the sympathy of powerful forces in the territory including executive and judicial officers. Yet there was little party politics in the ordinary sense of the word with neither side claiming any bond with the major parties until the election of 1886.

A primary matter of contention was the control of county government. As noted above, the Mormons seemed to stake their political hopes on numerical build-up. On the other hand, if Mormon accounts may be believed, the Ring, which even when supported by Barth's loyal Mexican following was in the minority, maintained itself by open manipulation of the electoral processes. Their system was not complex, but it appears to have involved a rather thoroughgoing perversion of certain American ideals. Ballot boxes were stuffed and vote-counting was doubly rigged with the Ring appointing officials and dominating the county supervisors to which contested counts were appealed.[15]

Not content with such sure-fire electoral methods, the Ring harassed Mormon voters who found it necessary to vote in predominantly Gentile precincts. The dilemma posed to such individuals was manifest in Joseph Fish's words written after the election of 1882:

> On November 7th I went down to Holbrook to attend the election there and watch and see if I could prevent any of the frauds that were being perpetrated at the elections by the ring. I soon found that I could do but little. A man stood in front of the polls armed as if for war and I was not allowed to come nearer than fifty feet of the polls and was threatened with arrest even before I had spoken a word to any one. I went up to vote and was marched back by the constable John Conley who again threatened me with arrest. In the meantime others who belonged to the party in power went up and voted without being molested. . . . I returned to Woodruff in the evening having accomplished but little only to find out how they ran things.[16]

The control of electoral affairs was completed by influencing the judicial system of the county. In addition to monopolizing the county law enforcement agencies, the Ring dominated both grand and petit juries. Through the compliance of federal prosecuting attorneys, Barth managed to have himself appointed as a member and foreman of the first half-dozen grand juries that were empaneled. Barring Mormons entirely from jury service, the rosters were filled with members of the Ring and Barth's Mexicans. Judges and other court officials are also said to have connived in the electoral frauds by which the Mormon vote was subverted.[17]

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[15] Fish charged election officers with counting the votes "that they wished" and throwing "out those that they did not want so as to give their ticket a good majority." Appeals saw the supervisors count "in whoever they pleased regardless of the number of votes." Ibid., pp. 175, 190.

[16] In 1882 Barth, who had temporarily fallen out with his cohorts, joined the Mormons. Deprived of the support of the county officers, even the resourceful Barth was unable to survive, as according to Fish, "no people in the world could beat the St. Johns ring in perpetrating frauds in election matters." Ibid., p. 190.

Another point of friction was education. Determined that their children should be educated according to their own lights, Little Colorado Mormons had initially been somewhat hesitant about setting up public schools. But hard pressed economically and wanting something in return for the heavy property tax they were paying, they soon overcame their scruples and took advantage of the territorial public education provisions which had been a matter of pride to Arizona's citizens since the administration of Governor McDonald in the late 1860's. The territory's was not only a relatively effective school system but one that had already proven its worth as an agency of conformity. Arguing that the Mormons were mixing church and state in their public schools, as no doubt they were, the Ring, which had captured the county school superintendency along with all other offices, made it nearly impossible for them to pass the qualifying examinations to teach and, worst of all in Mormon eyes, consolidated at least one of their districts with a Catholic Mexican district. The position of the school board was patent in the following reply of the county superintendent to an inquiry about the certification of a Mormon teacher:

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[17] Fish, "History of the Eastern Arizona Stake," p. 31. The courts were equally corrupt in other matters. Permissiveness on the part of federal judges encouraged the opposition. Bar examinations and the general atmosphere rendered it difficult if not impossible for the few Mormon lawyers who came into the country to practice. In short, the Ring's success in frustrating Mormon attempts to find recourse in the courts had emboldened it to make open use of legal action as a political instrument.

> I cannot say what action the Board of Examiners will take in reference to Mr. Brookbank's teaching in Snowflake. Simply from the fact of the strong determination of your place (together with other districts) to maintain (in direct opposition of the law) sectarian schools, the County Board of Education are no less determined to prevent the use of public money for such purposes.[18]

The outcome of Brookbank's appeal is not known. Others who sought certification left record of intensive periods of study, of rigorous testing, of failure, and, in some cases, of success. After a grueling period of preparation that lasted over two months, Allen Frost went before the board of examiners in December of 1888. Of his experience, he wrote:

> December 3rd. Commenced examination at 9 a. m. --went through the Preliminaries, and Grammar and Arithmetic, 2 p. m. --Was examined this afternoon in Spelling, Geography. Mental Arithmetic, and Defining-- 3 applicants commenced, and one failed the first 1/2 day --Bro J. Brown of Kanarra, and myself continued til evening. 4th 9. a.m. --Bro Brown was ruled out this morning on Arithmetic, and I continued alone in Reading -- Methods of teaching, Hygiene -- and Physiology. I was, however, ruled out finally on Grammar -- Mr. Morrison -- the county Supt seemed determined that no Mormon should qualify.[19]

After studying for an additional two months, Frost was again:

> . . . examined in Grammar, Geography, and U. S. History. Arithmetic, Defining -- Mental Arithmetic, & Methods of teaching. . . . Passed in reading, Physiology, Hygiene, Natural Philosophy, Algebra, & School laws.[20]

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[18] Letter of Superintendent E. E. Bunch to J. W. Smith, December 27, 1885.

[19] "Diary of Allen Frost," p. 90.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 97

Clearing such hurdles, he was finally awarded a "1st Grade certificate." Four others were also certified at the same time for first and second grade teaching.

The school board also sought to exact a degree of conformity from the Mormon schools through its control of appropriations. Circumvented in most places, it struck hard in St. Johns. Abolishing the Mormon district there, it consolidated their school with that of the Mexicans. Refusing, in their own words, "to associate their children with those of low filthy habits," the St. Johns Saints made private provisions for their youngsters.[21] There the issue might have rested had they been content to drop it, but they initiated legal proceedings to reclaim their school district along with the accompanying right to territorial school monies. This case, like all others that they brought before the courts at this time, was soon bogged down in a legal quagmire and nothing came of it. However, one court action carried. Antagonized, the school board brought an injunction against the St. Johns Mormons ordering them to assist in the construction of a new school house to meet the anticipated increase of enrollment that consolidation of the two districts would have occasioned had the Mormons complied. Regarding this to be a rank injustice, the latter resisted but eventually paid some $900 on the new school to which they never sent their children.[22]

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[21] Fish, "History of the Eastern Arizona Stake," p. 63. Although most Mormon communities maintained independent schools during the early years and some, mainly by merit of their isolation, for decades thereafter, they objected less strenuously to public control of the schools after the general accommodation of the late 1880's. During the 1890's, schools at Springerville and elsewhere among the small mountain towns were "integrated."

Apache County: Discord and Polygamy

The aggressive action on the part of the county school board was only one manifestation of a general intensification of opposition to the Mormons during 1883 and 1884. Having seized control of the county government and fended off Mormon challenges in the courts, the St. Johns Ring now declared that the country was not big enough for themselves and the Mormons and broadened their attack. Establishing "anti-Mormon" newspapers at St. Johns, they made polygamy the focus of their new offensive and soon moved beyond the limits of Apache County, carrying the issue to the territorial courts and into the legislature.

The first move toward an Apache County press was made in 1882 when C. A. Franklin, a violent anti-Mormon, brought in a small press and began publishing a paper called the *Arizona Pioneer*. Quickly failing, the *Pioneer* was sold to the Mormons and under the editorship of Miles K. Romney published as the *Orion Era*. Assuming an aggressive tack, Romney printed as regular features strong attacks upon the Ring and exposes of its members. At the beginning of 1884, the opposition founded its second paper--the *Apache Chief*--the editorial policy of which was wildly anti-Mormon. As near as this writer can ascertain, no copy of the *Orion Era* has survived, but several runs of the *Apache Chief* for 1884 and 1885 are still extant from which the tenor of the times may be sampled.

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[22] Fish, "History of the Eastern Arizona Stake," p. 63.

Published by George McCarter, a Mormon-baiting U.S. court commissioner who had come to St. Johns in 1887, the Chief flayed the church mercilessly from all angles but made a number of issues the special object of its vituperation. Prominent among these was the church policy of colonization. It was, of course, no secret that the Mormons met each challenge with another wave of immigrants. Furthermore, colonists were far from circumspect in their predictions of their ultimate domination of the county and the eclipse of the opposition. One good church member, reported the Chief, said "times are dull, and I am glad of it. The Mormons can live, anyway, and hard times may drive out the Gentiles."[23] Sermons in which church leaders predicted the downfall of the United States and the rise of the Mormon kingdom were also seized upon as they were repeated through the community. One of the St. Johns brethren was reported to have foretold that "inside of fifty years the government will be controlled by Mormons" and that through the assistance of foreign nations and providence the entire world would be under their rule in a century.[24] To emphasize that such sentiments were not merely idle talk and that they had direct and immediate implications for Apache County, the Chief reported late in the year that "800 wagons entered Arizona Territory" by way of Lee's Ferry in 1884.[25] If they continued to come at this rate for two years, the editor worried, Mormons would outnumber Gentiles in Arizona.

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[23] Apache Chief, June 18, 1884 (to be found in ALA).

[24] Ibid., June 25, 1884. There is no question that Wilford Woodruff, Erastus Snow, and others preached similar doctrines from northern Arizona pulpits. For examples, see "Minutes of Eastern Arizona Stake Conferences, 1879-82," June 28, 1879, p. 87, where the former is quoted as saying: "There will be no United States in the Year 1890." Joseph Fish recounts a speech in which Snow predicted that "in fifty years hence

One of the most unrestrained expressions of fear that the "Mormon menace" would overwhelm Arizona to appear in the Chief was a copy of a speech given on the Fourth of July, 1884, at Prescott by Judge Sumner Howard, prosecuting attorney at the John D. Lee trial who to the dismay of Little Coloradans had been appointed chief justice of the Territorial Courts of Arizona and presided over the district court that met at St. Johns and Prescott during 1884 and 1885. With little show of dignity or judicial restraint, he awakend Arizonians to the threat saying:

> There is no danger which menaces this beautiful Territory equal to that black cloud that follows the blasting approach of a polygamous priesthood, and which has already cast its withering influence over the most beautiful portion of your Territory. . . . I say to you, fellow citizens that it is not only the design of the foul and unscrupulous priesthood to sieze upon this Territory and those adjoining it but that it will be an accomplished fact unless there is a rising of the people of this Territory . . . to free themselves from the impending danger. . . .[26]

. . . the sandy beach would mark the places . . . of Washington and New York." See "Autobiography of Joseph Fish," p. 236.

[25] Apache Chief, December 5, 1884.

[26] Ibid., July 18, 1884. Taking up the same theme, the Arizona Weekly Journal of August 12, 1885, greeted the trial of certain Mormon squatters with relief, declaring that "to those acquainted with the modus operandi of the Mormon Church in taking possession of Arizona as they

But the Chief needed no one, not even Sumner Howard, to call its attention to the threat of the Mormon invasion nor did it yield to anyone in expressing its anti-Mormon sentiments. Writing in May over a month before Howard's Fourth of July oration, Editor McCarter raged:

> How did Missouri and Illinois get rid of the Mormons? By the use of the shot gun and rope. Apache county can rid herself of them also. In a year from now the Mormons will have the power here and Gentiles had better leave. Don't let them get it. Desperate diseases need desperate remedies. The Mormon disease is a desperate one and the rope and shot gun is the only cure. The government refuses to do anything, and the 'people' of Apache County must do something or the Mormons will soon drive them out. Take the needed steps while it is yet time. Don't let them settle on any more of our lands; don't let them stop in Apache County. Hang a few of their polygamous leaders, such as Jesse N. Smith, Udall, Romney, Hunt and others of this nature and a stop will be put to it. . . . The good of the country demands this, and we expect every Gentile to see that it is carried out. No Mormon should be allowed to cast a vote. He has no rights and should be allowed none. Down with them. Grind out their very existence. . . .[27]

The danger of a "treasonable, lecherous, bigoted priesthood" headquartered in a distant place taking over and quashing all vestiges of

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had of Utah," the Mormon land trials were "of great importance." Declaring that "the Mormons are colonizing and they are controlled by the Church, he continued:

> "We hail with pleasure the dawn of the day when honest individual settlement of our productive valleys shall be protected by the law against the intrigues and grasping designs of the polygamous hordes of Mormonism, sent out from Utah to occupy, control and contaminate our beautiful territory. All honor to Arizona juries, they will do their duty and receive their reward in contemplating the grand picture of a settlement of Arizona by a free, honest, and virtuous people who owe no allegiance to treasonable, lecherous, bigoted priesthood."

Quoted in Udall and Nelson, pp. 122-23.

[27] Apache Chief, May 30, 1884. Also to be found in "Autobiography of Joseph Fish," p. 205 and Udall and Nelson, pp. 115-16.

"home rule" was also held before the readers of the *Apache Chief*. Judge Howard warned against government by a "supreme authority outside the Territory," declaring that it was better to "bear, invoke and implore the political power of the general government in Washington than the vicious influence of a political polygamous priesthood at Salt Lake City."[28]

Although converts of foreign birth came to the Little Colorado, as they did to other Mormon frontiers, their numbers seem to have been small. Yet the *Chief* picked up the foreign menace theme, writing as Mormons worked to secure a change in the county seat that the legislature would not "deliver American citizens to foreign domination."[29]

But the major emphasis of the *Apache Chief*'s attack as well as of the mounting tide of opposition generally was directed against polygamy. Although Arizonians had been conscious of it at least since the time of Governor Safford's 1875 visit to the lower river villages, they appear as a rule to have winked at Mormon marital peculiarities both during the early period of settlement and the later years after the Apache County conflict had run its course. While the Mormons, who had assured Safford that no polygamists would migrate to Arizona, used the new colony from the first as a refuge for wanted bigamists, they also used a good deal of discretion, keeping signs of plural marriage's practice fully below the surface. Aliases were given to prominent exiles such as Wilford

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[28] *Apache Chief*, July 18, 1884.

[29] *Ibid.*, June 11, 1884.

Woodruff, who was known as Lewis Allen during his year on the Little Colorado. Separatist tendencies also enabled them to avoid observation. Mormon women whether of monogamous or multiple families rarely found their way into Gentile communities. The irregularities of polygamy were somewhat more difficult to conceal at St. Johns where bigamists lived in close proximity to the opposition, but even there it was so well hidden that court cases against St. Johns polygamists turned on the skimpiest evidence.

Not only did Utah bigamists come to Arizona, but many Mormons took additional wives after arriving. The secret rites of temple marriage had a special utility in such instances. Usually taking the Lee's Ferry route, prospective couples made their way as innocuously as possible over what came to be called the "honeymoon" trail to the St. George Temple, returning as man and wife but leaving little or no public evidence of the act to indict themselves.

In spite of secretiveness and the dearth of legal evidence, it was common knowledge that polygamy was practiced, and for a half a decade between 1882 and 1887 Arizona Gentiles, particularly those in Apache County, departed their wonted permissiveness and made it the center of their attack upon the Mormons.

A number of factors may be cited as influencing the shift of Apache County's conflict from specific local issues to the broader one of polygamy. Personalities appear to have been important. George A.

Mc Carter, for example, played a primary role in the changing climate of opinion. Arriving in St. Johns in 1882, he turned both his editorial pen and his position as court commissioner against polygamy with such an impassioned fury that he quickly eclipsed Barth and other old warriors of the anti-Mormon campaign. Of even greater importance was the person of Sumner Howard. Appointed chief justice of the territorial courts in 1884, he threw himself into the fray with full energy, a fact which doubtless encouraged the flurry of polygamy cases that came before the district court at Prescott late that year; but his ardor quickly cooled, again helping to mold the course of Arizona's polygamy fight as his court became less congenial to crusaders.

The quickening tempo of the national attack upon polygamy emboldened Apache County's anti-Mormons to increase their pressure. Such figures as Senators George F. Edmunds and Luke P. Poland were demanding and getting national attention and were heard even on Arizona's frontier.[30] From Idaho came suggestive word of political events and of "test oath" legislation. And, of course, the rising clamor of the attack in Utah heralded a day of reckoning. Furthermore, the general atmosphere of excess and moral laxity which spawned the violence that characterized old Tombstone and the Pleasant Valley War also contributed to the mounting furor.

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[30] Editor Mc Carter frequently ran the following one line item: "The Chief is for George F. Edmunds of Vermont for President." See for example, Apache Chief, April 11, 1884.

But the rush to impose political and moral restraints upon Apache County Mormons was in large measure homemade. As chronicled in the foregoing pages, local relations had become increasingly tense in the years prior to 1884. The election of that year with its union of Mormons and Holbrook Gentiles fed the fires of controversy, giving uneasy Ring members reason to believe that immediate action to obstruct more successful future alliances was imperative. Allowing tempers no time to cool after the elections, the Apache County polygamy raid was initiated at the fall term of the district court in Prescott.

The proceedings of the raid, which members of the St. Johns Ring freely admitted were "instituted through malice and for political purposes" against the entire church, fell practically into two parts--one concerned with charges of polygamy and unlawful cohabitation, the other with perjury in a land case.[31] In the latter, Commissioner McCarter carried his editorial feud with Miles K. Romney into the courts, charging him along with David Udall and Joseph Crosby, his witnesses, with swearing falsely that Romney had lived continuously for the requisite two years on a piece of land he was pre-empting. Doggedly pursuing the case, McCarter overcame several reverses to secure Udall's imprisonment at the Detroit House of Correction in August of 1885. Crosby was acquitted and Romney, convinced that he had no chance for a fair trial, jumped bond and fled to Mexico.

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[31] See letter of D. K. Udall to John Taylor, August 26, 1884, Udall File, CHO.

Seven prominent Mormons, including Udall, Ammon M. Tenney, and William J. Flake, were indicted on the charge of polygamy and unlawful cohabitation by the August session of the grand jury at Prescott.[32] Of these, six were arrested and taken to Prescott where they were placed under bond in September. Long under the impression that bigamists married in Utah could not be prosecuted in Arizona and assured by legal council that they would be further protected by an Arizona statute of limitations which required that such crimes be tried within three years of the time of commission, church leaders advised the accused to stand trial, hoping for a court victory that would enhance the territory as a place of refuge.[33] Thus, hopeful of victory and willing to endure the risks involved because their trial now appeared to be a test case, all six of the accused appeared at the November term of court over which Sumner Howard presided.

The trial did not go as they had anticipated. Proceedings against Udall were dropped for lack of evidence, but the other five soon found that the place of marriage and the statute of limitations were no defense at all. Pleading not guilty, the first three were convicted, not under the

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[32] Others were C. I. Kempe, P. J. Christofferson, J. N. Skousen, and B. H. Wilhelm.

[33] See Journal of Jesse N. Smith, p. 294 and Fish, "History of the Eastern Arizona Stake," p. 36.

Edmunds Act as they had expected but under a territorial bigamy law, and sentenced to fines of $500 and four years imprisonment at the Detroit House of Correction. The last two, seeing the course the trial was taking and assured of lenience if they pled guilty, did so, receiving $500 fines and six months in the territorial penitentiary at Yuma.[34]

To Mormons, the trials and the harshness of the penalties were harrowing experiences. Joseph Fish, who wrote that "during the progress of these trials hell appeared on every corner," likely expressed the feelings of most.[35] There was, however, some variation of response. Even the principles reacted quite differently. Well treated during the trial and at the Territorial Penitentiary, William J. Flake found repeated opportunities to advance himself and the church and later recounted the incidents of this eventful period with such relish as to indicate that it was in the main a satisfying experience. On the other hand, D. K. Udall, who kept a day by day record of the trial and his imprisonment, felt that his dignity as a human being was debased at every turn. Nothing in either the proceedings or his surroundings comforted him. Officials were hostile, he was imprisoned in an oppressive subterranean jail, food was intolerable, and people from the community, a few of whom he engaged for sundry services, were undependable and dishonest. But such things could have been borne; the blow to Udall's pride and self-respect, on the other hand, seemed nearly intolerable. Reflecting an attitude that goes far in explaining the widespread reluctance of other polygamists to stand trial, he wrote while still in Prescott: "God only knows the misery of soul I endured in coming in here." And again he yearned: "Oh God, deliver me from Hell and give me my liberty."[36] Thus tormented, the months of his imprisonment were a great ordeal.

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[34] Two others were indicted by the November term of the grand jury. One of these fled; the other stood trial, pleading guilty, and was sentenced to three months at the territorial penitentiary.

[35] See Fish, "History of the Eastern Arizona Stake," p. 36.

The Little Colorado community was thrown into complete disarray by the trials. Their normal flow of life interrupted, most stake and ward authorities fled to Salt Lake City in December. Returning shortly with important church officials including President John Taylor, they led a more general exodus to Mexico.[37]

While good accounts of the Mexican dispersion exist, it is difficult to determine the total number who fled, but it seems unlikely that more than 10 percent of the colony's men made the trip with a somewhat lower proportion of women and children. Not even all polygamists took to the underground. Quite as prominent in some cases as those who left, the stay-at-homes were not disturbed and appear to have gone openly about their ordinary pursuits. Although a relatively small portion of the colony joined the flight and fewer still stayed on in Mexico, the polygamy scare did result in a loss of population that built up only slowly during the next four or five years.

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[36] Flake, p. 102, and Udall and Nelson, pp. 126-27.

[37] The fears of the retreating Arizonians, who traveling incognito made a winter trip through the waist deep snow of the Kaibab Mountains, were greeted in Utah with tolerant skepticism. Even President Taylor at first counseled them not to be too sensitive, but word from Arizona soon altered his appraisal of the situation. Deeply concerned, he returned with them and helped plan the general withdrawal of polygamists to Mexico. The best account of the Utah trip as well as the subsequent flight to Mexico is found in Journal of Jesse N. Smith, pp. 296-321.

Sundering the colony physically, the raid resulted in a renewal of political and spiritual union. All pretense of cooperation with the Gentiles was temporarily dropped. For the moment, their plan appears to have been to remove themselves as completely as possible from the public eye.

As polygamists hurried from the country during the early winter of 1885, another blow fell that seemed to justify their fears. Following the lead taken in the Idaho legislature that same year, prominent Republicans including Governor F. A. Tritle moved to disfranchise not only the polygamists but anyone believing in the doctrine. Chosen to introduce the bill was Apache County's E. S. Stover, long an advocate of barring Mormons from the polls and one of the group which had effectively interfered with their franchise by extralegal methods during the previous years.[38] Easily passing both houses, the Stover bill was signed into law and seemed to insure the defeat of the Mormons. With their financial resources depleted by court cases and dispersion, they made no plans to fight the law.

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[38] Stover is reputed to have said that he would not stay in the county if the Mormons remained. Later, when it began to appear that they would both remain and take part in county politics, he left, ostensibly because of his objections to them.

Arizona Territory: Accommodation

It was just as well. In the first place, the "test oath" law was upheld in the Idaho courts and ultimately by the Supreme Court in the case of the *People* v. *Davis*.[39] But more important was the fact that the forces that had spawned the anti-Mormon movement began to dissipate. Continuing over the next decade, this relaxation allowed a progressive accommodation between Apache County's Gentiles and Mormons.

One promising change, the election of Grover Cleveland occurred almost simultaneously with the polygamy trials of 1884. Soon hailed by Little Colorado Saints as the "first president of the U.S., from Van Buren down, who dared do justice for a Mormon," Democratic Cleveland broke the post-Civil War chain of Republican Presidents. Although his administration was not a time of tranquility for the church generally, his appointment of Conrad M. Zulick as governor interjected a new element into Arizona politics that immediately bettered the lot of Little Colorado Mormons. Arriving late in 1885, Zulick immediately and energetically began to build the Democratic party. In the process, he did not eschew controversial political issues. Perhaps the most explosive stand he took was one favoring the Mormons. His first step was to pardon the polygamists serving terms in the territorial penitentiary. Next he used his influence to make the Stover bill's repeal an issue in the election of 1886. Although the matter threatened to create a fissure in his party, he overrode the opposition, binding the Mormons to his cause by promising to wipe the offensive legislation from the books. Obediently following his directions, the Democratic legislature of 1887 restored the franchise by large majorities of both houses.

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[39] See Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Cannon and Sons, Co., 1893), III, 725-29.

These developments were parallelled by change on the judicial front. Obvious in a sharp decline of interest in prosecuting polygamists, shifting attitudes are perhaps best traced in the events that led to Udall's pardon by President Cleveland before the end of 1885. It will be recalled that Udall had been indicted for perjury after swearing that Miles Romney had fulfilled the "continuous residence" requirement for proving up on land he had entered under the pre-emption law. Given to understand by the court clerk before whom oath was taken that "continuous residence" was more a matter of intent and improvement of the land than actual occupation, he had willingly attested that his colleague qualified. Claiming that Udall, who knew that Romney lived in town most of the time, had knowingly tried to deceive the government. U.S. Commissioner McCarter was able to attract the full support of U.S. Attorney J. A. Zabriskie, who prosecuted the case. The court gave Udall no chance to testify or bring witnesses in reference to the mitigating circumstances under which the oath was taken, and the prosecution easily secured a verdict of guilty.

Although the public at Prescott and the court seemed determined to convict Udall, there were uneasy stirrings even among avid anti-Mormons during the course of the trial. Noting that Joseph Crosby, Udall's non-polygamous co-witness, had been acquitted, the Albuquerque Morning Journal decried what seemed to be a tendency not "to strike straight from the shoulder" in an editorial entitled "Was It Mormonism or Perjury?" from which the following has been taken:

> Joe Crosby was tried at the same term of court for the same offense on precisely the same state of facts and acquitted. Udall is a bishop in the Mormon Church, and Crosby is a lay member of the same Church. . . . It is a good thing to nab a Mormon bishop when he is guilty of practicing his polygamous doctrines and "cinch him" until he is perfectly cured of his lawless indulgences, but it is a very bad thing, indeed to convict such an individual of the grave crime of perjury and acquit another man of the same offense on the same state of facts.[40]

Almost immediately after the Udall trial there was a general effort to undo its work. The broadness of this reaction was such that plans to appeal the case were soon abandoned and the primary emphasis placed upon securing Udall's pardon. Surprisingly, even the officials of Apache County, all of whom were members of the Ring and some of whom had testified against him, now came to his aid. Declaring that his "conduct was such as to create for him an unblemished reputation," they petitioned the President "in the interest of justice to grant an unconditional pardon."[41] Soon Judge Sumner and U.S. Attorney Zabriskie joined those who sought his release, the latter stiffly confessing that a careful review of the case had "raised reasonable doubt of . . . guilt" in his mind.[42]

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[40] Quoted from the Albuquerque Morning Journal, August 27, 1885, in Udall and Nelson, pp. 124-25.

[41] Ibid., pp. 131-32.

As in the repeal of the Stover bill, the territorial executive also played an important role. Governor Zulick's young private secretary Thomas E. Farish's attention was attracted to the case by Hiram B. Clawson, who as a Mormon pioneer in party politics had come to Arizona as a liaison man between the church and Zulick's Democrats. Advised of the facts, Farish solicited and evidently secured the help of an "assistant United States attorney for the Interior Department," who being a close friend of the President's conveyed the desires of the governor and his secretary directly to Cleveland.[43] Mormon petitions were also dispatched to the President. Perhaps the most telling of these were made by John W. Young, who now in the East was on friendly terms with Cleveland. Yielding to this solid show of sympathy, Cleveland pardoned Udall on December 12, 1885.

Encouraged, Little Colorado polygamists, most of whom had found only trouble and suffering south of the border, began to drift back from Mexico. The conditions they returned to soon led to a weakening of their isolationist and self-determinist policies. Immediately and in the long run, the result was an increasing role in the politics of Apache County.

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[42] Ibid., p. 121.

[43] Farish, noted primarily for his History of Arizona (8 vols.; San Francisco: The Filmer Brothers Electrotype Co., 1915-18), remained on friendly relations with the church. Later, when he was doing research in the CHO, he wrote the article from which the above was extracted for the Deseret News, August 31, 1918.

A major feature in this accommodation was the progressive development of partisan politics. As noted earlier in this chapter, the latter part of the 1880's was characterized by an accelerating movement away from the politics of narrow territorial interests. None of the traditional political elements ceased to exist, but the new contact with national parties removed the accent from intraterritorial conflict, including the Mormon controversy.

The forces in the development of party politics were numerous but none was more important than the effect of Grover Cleveland's election and the appointment of Democrats, including Governor Zulick, to the territory's offices. Without any real base of power since the pre-Civil War days, the Democrats had neither rallied as a party nor been of sufficient weight as opposition to force much discipline or party loyalty upon the Republicans.[44] With the territorial offices in their hands and with Zulick's effective leadership, the three years of his incumbency enabled the Democrats to develop considerable cohesiveness. Seriously challenged, the Republicans too were forced to tighten party lines. As a consequence, issues that had existed previously in their own right were increasingly drawn into the spectrum of party competition.

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[44] See Lamar, pp. 458-485.

For the Mormons of Apache County, the rise of two-party politics had a number of important implications. Among the first to become obvious was the fact that under party alignments the responsibility of county government fell less directly upon local factions. Bound to territorial and national seats of power, the parties easily controlled issues that had completely ruptured relations when county groups were left to contend by themselves. Even in 1885 when Zulick's hand behind the Democratic Party first hinted at a new era, the party's impact upon the course of Apache County affairs was remarkable indeed. With the tacit support of the loose congeries of interests that constituted the pre-Zulick Republican party, the St. Johns Ring had manipulated earlier elections to insure its continued control of public office and the effective decision-making processes of the county. The election of 1886, which was not only the first election in which the Democrats had emerged but ironically the only one in which Mormons were legally disfranchised, was the first election since the Mormons became politically active in 1878 that the dominant clique had not seriously interfered with their voting. Insulated by their union with a major party, Little Colorado Mormons voted freely for the first time in nearly a decade.

Between 1886 and 1890, Mormon political participation was limited almost entirely to the Democratic party. From the first, the union between the two groups was recognized by both to be of great utility. Comprising one-fifth of the territory's non-Indian population and over half of Apache County's whites, the ostracized Saints seemed made to order to power hungry Democrats. To the Mormons, Zulick's overtures were a godsend indeed. During Zulick's first months in the territory, preliminary arrangements were worked out between himself and Hiram B. Clawson, one of the main figures in ZCMI affairs who as noted above had been sent out from Salt Lake City to negotiate with Arizona Democrats.[45] The way cleared, Jesse N. Smith was directed in October of 1886 by President John Taylor to "get the Saints in the various Arizona Stakes in line to sustain the Democratic nominees" as therein lay the church's only safety."[46] As well disposed toward the Democrats as were their leaders, the Mormons voted overwhelmingly Democratic, helping to give the party a sweeping victory. Thus bolstered, the Democrats also ran well in the elections of 1888 and 1890 although their successes were less marked than in 1886.

Mormon gains from the arrangement were also significant. Of primary importance was the cessation of the polygamy prosecutions which enabled them to resume the ordinary functions of life. A number of cherished rights were immediately restored, including full suffrage, substantial control over their schools, and a fair share of jury duty. Although the time element precluded it in 1886, political offices once again became accessible to them in 1888 and thereafter.

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[45] Clawson's role is frequently but vaguely referred to in Little Colorado sources. No reference to his Arizona activities are to be found in his own journals which are in the CHO. There is, however, some reference to meetings with Clawson in Zulick's papers at the APHS.

[46] Journal of Jesse N. Smith, p. 331.

Meantime, the Republicans of Apache County and the territory generally continued to make anti-Mormon activity part of their program. Contending that the continued influx of Mormons jeopardized the political and economic rights of "loyal" citizens, they called unsuccessfully for legislation inhibiting immigration. They also sought to remove those already in the territory from effective political participation by reviving the Stover bill or raising other devices to disfranchise them. Desultory effort was also made to reinstitute the polygamy prosecutions, but for the most part the citizenry had lost interest, and officials found few willing to stand the expense and inconvenience of travel and living away from home that was involved in grand jury and court duty. Following an unsuccessful effort to "hunt up" sufficient witnesses to bring an indictment against several prominent Mormons under the Edmund's Act in 1891, Joseph Fish noted a typical reaction when he wrote that "most people say that the court is a farce and a great many of the gentiles are getting tired of the Edmunds law."[47] The anti-Mormon press was also employed by the Republicans but was greeted with less enthusiasm than previously. At St. Johns, the old Apache Chief reappeared briefly as the Apache Review, but its policy of "vilifying and slandering" won few friends and soon even St. Johns Republicans repudiated it.[48]

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[47] "Autobiography of Joseph Fish," p. 285.

[48] Ibid., p. 259.

At the local level, Republican hostility began to erode at a fairly early date. Initially its crumbling was little more than a matter of votes and represented a victory of sorts for Mormon policy of building population through colonization. Once the Democrats had opened the doors of political participation, situations arose in which the Republicans simply could not afford the luxury of a stand that alienated such a large group of voters. The dilemma thus posed was obvious to some local Republicans at least as early as 1888, and by the following year enough of them were courting Mormon votes to prompt Fish to write: "Things are very quiet in regards to the Mormon question. One reason perhaps for this is that both political parties wanted our vote so we are permitted to live in peace for a while."[49]

In the years that followed, political exigency led Republicans hat in hand to the Mormons time and again. A situation that illustrates the point developed in Apache County during the campaign of 1890. Still determined to move the county seat to Holbrook, which was the region's rail outlet and commercial capital, Republicans there and elsewhere on the west side of the county repudiated the strongly anti-Mormon plank of the St. Johns-dominated platform, thinking thereby "to catch" Mormon votes for the proposed change. The St. Johns faction, which had just established the Apache Review expressly as an agent of its opposition to the Mormons and pledged themselves to work for their expulsion, reversed their position as the prospects of a successful raid on the county seat loomed. Dropping both the Review and the expulsion pledge, they too sought Mormon support.[50] Thus politics with its varying needs had accepted the Mormon vote. Once the line against the Mormons had broken, Republicans as well as Democrats concilated and flattered them. A substantial body of voters may be feared on the one hand and intimidated on the other, but once voting is never forgotten. As voters, Mormons were still feared and wondered at; they were also courted and exploited but no longer rejected or ignored.

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[49] Ibid., p. 266.

Giving their tacit approval to local arrangements with Mormon voters, territorial Republican leaders did not entirely abandon their fight against them until 1892. Even then their conciliatory action was based more on the church's surrender on the polygamy question and the subsequent relaxation of the raid in Utah than upon local issues. Touring the territory previous to the election of that year, Governor Oakes Murphy told Mormon leaders that immigration and the franchise would no longer be issues and invited them to enter fully into territorial politics.[51]

About the same time, party officials set up Republican clubs throughout Apache County and other Mormon strongholds. Despite strong loyalty to the Democratic party, many Mormons joined the Republicans at this time. Their formal division into two political factions marked not only their growing confidence but the consummation of an official policy of the church encouraging bipartisan activity.

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[50] Ibid., p. 277.

[51] Ibid., p. 293.

Churchwide by 1892, the policy of dividing along party lines had had its inception in Arizona in the 1886 alliance with the Democrats. Fearing to surrender either the essential unity of its people or to limit their maneuverability by committing them to permanent alliances, the church at first carefully skirted both political division and binding commitments. However, by 1889 halting permission to let Arizona Saints follow their own inclination in such questions was forthcoming. Instructing leaders to "let the people divide on Republican and Democratic lines if they felt to do so," Salt Lake City authorities nevertheless cautioned that it was best to vote for men and measures rather than parties."[52] About a year later, church officials from Colorado and New Mexico as well as Arizona met at Albuquerque where more definite but still tentative directions were given them by the First Presidency. Recommending that the "Saints in Arizona . . . affiliate with the Republican party" as "far as practicable," Wilford Woodruff was apparently careful not to couch his directions in imperative terms and excused Jesse N. Smith and others from compliance on the "ground of intimate relations with the Democratic leaders and benefits received from them."[53] At a stake conference in Snowflake about a year later, Apostle John Henry Smith again "advocated the Republican course" showing that "we might make friends by voting that ticket." But he was also reported to have modified his remarks by adding that only "part" should support the Republicans as they "ought to divide on politics."[54]

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[52] Journal of Jesse N. Smith, p. 373.

[53] Ibid., p. 379.

The practical outcome of this program was a remarkably even distribution of Arizona Mormons in the two political parties. By the mid-1890's, Little Colorado Mormons, who as we have seen in other connections divided over many internal issues, were dividing over external matters and opposed each other quite as vigorously on political questions as did other elements of the territory. Symbolic of the change and the departure from isolation that it heralded was the conduct of two Mormon members of the Territorial Assembly in 1895. Constant companions George Crosby and Joseph Fish traveled about the territory on legislative junkets and roomed together, but they split on a number of important issues that came before the legislature. The most significant of these was a measure to create Navajo County of the west side of Apache County. Representing St. Johns and the east, Crosby led the opposition, even undertaking a filibuster in a last minute effort to avoid the division. Fish, on the other hand, joined the insurgents favoring and voting for a new county. In a sense, events had made a cycle ending on the same question that had precipitated the long conflict nearly twenty years before. While it had cost much and initiative had often been in the hands of others, means had been worked out whereby Little Colorado Mormons could exist under the political conditions of Apache County.

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[54] "Autobiography of Joseph Fish," p. 289.

Conclusion

During the years immediately after 1890, the pioneer period of Mormon political relations on the Little Colorado came to an end. The aspirations of setting up an adjunct of an independent Mormon kingdom in which substantial self-rule was to be achieved through prior occupation and the isolationism of oasis agriculture had given away to a limited political accommodation in which peace was achieved at the expense of the comprehensiveness of Mormon unity and the nonconforming practices of polygamy.

During the same period, territorial politics had also passed through a transition. Disparate economic interests with little more in common than their conviction that the government should serve their needs had given away to a system that conformed in most respects with national patterns and in which national interests cut across and muted the violent interchange that characterized the relations of local interests of an earlier day. In the process of this transformation, Little Colorado Mormons had become embroiled in a sharp controversy with the ruling clique in Apache County. The excesses that might have grown from their collision were happily averted by the broadening of the political base providing a field in which an adjustment could develop between a chastened Mormon community and their Gentile neighbors. The strategy of their political program still emanating from Salt Lake City, Little Colorado Mormons experimented with party alignment at a time somewhat before the church adopted an official policy encouraging it. While the fracture of Mormon-Gentile relations in Apache County had been more severe than elsewhere, the simultaneous development of party politics in the territory and division of church members between the two major parties created cross currents of interests and political need which overrode the Mormon Gentile cleavage, thus permitting an effective merging of the two groups.

But in Arizona of the 1890's, the forces of individualism and group interest had not joined completely to become a single society. Along with other disparate groups, the Mormon colonists of the Little Colorado retained a distinct self-image in which most of their earlier values could still be found. Accepting a position somewhat removed from the real source of political power, they avoided the sharp light of controversy and in the resultant obscurity found at least minimal satisfaction of their need to be self-governing. Perhaps it was the best they could have hoped for.

CHAPTER XI

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE ON THE FRONTIER

The Church

As has been constantly apparent in the foregoing pages, the church was the most important social institution in the lives of most Little Colorado Mormons. The exploration, settlement, and persistence of the colony had each been the special product of church influence. Attentive to church doctrines, colonists were organized and directed under its institutions and were subject to its continuing oversight. Implicit in the various facets of this study, the structural and informal arrangements by which the church carried on its affairs will receive consideration here.

The ordinary organization of the church prevailed. With the First Presidency at their head, the General Authorities, consisting of the Twelve Apostles, the First Presidents of the Seventies, and an increasing number of auxiliary leaders and specialists, provided the top-level leadership. In the colony, authority was divided between itinerant members of the General Authorities and the stake presidencies, with the former presiding when they were present. Assisted by twelve-man councils and the leaders of such auxiliary organizations as the Relief Society, Sunday School, and the Mutual Improvement Association, the stake presidencies constituted the chief resident authority. Dominating their subordinates in theory and practice, the presidents exercised a good deal of discretion over policy formulation and administration but were themselves responsible to and in close communication with the Salt Lake City leaders. Bishops of wards and branch presidencies over smaller, less stable units along with ward officers completed the structural arrangements.

Originally a colonizing mission, the church administration in northern Arizona was regularized by the organization of stakes, three of which were ultimately established. Founded first, the Little Colorado Stake never flourished. Headed by Lot Smith, its leadership had little chance to escape the rawness of its frontier before division over the United Order and the decline of the lower river villages combined with Smith's shortcomings as an administrator to sap its vitality. It nevertheless kept the lines of communication open and provided a minimum of organization until 1887 when it ceased to exist. At the suggestion of Erastus Snow, it had been divided in November of 1878. Bounded by the Ft. Apache road which ran south from Holbrook, the Eastern Arizona Stake, as the new subdivision was called, took in all Mormon settlement to the east including that around Savoia, New Mexico. In 1887 the Eastern Arizona Stake was in turn split, forming the St. Johns and Snowflake Stakes which continue to constitute the basis of the church's organization in the area. Jesse N. Smith, who had headed the earlier unit, was carried over as president of the Snowflake Stake and D. K. Udall, bishop of St. Johns since 1880, presided over the new St. Johns Stake.

Deeply interested in the colony's genesis, Salt Lake City leaders not only laid out the course of settlement but superintended the process through personal inspections. Although the practice of locating apostles permanently in new colonies had been abandoned before 1876, control was maintained by frequent visits. Brigham Young himself had planned until the year of his death to view Arizona firsthand but apparently never crossed the Colorado River. Going in his stead, Counselor Daniel H. Wells along with Apostles Brigham Young, Jr., and Erastus Snow appraised the prospects of the colony before it was four months old. Upon Snow, and, with his aging and death, upon the junior Young fell the major responsibility for the settlement of the entire Colorado Plateau including the Little Colorado. Joined by Francis M. Lyman, Heber J. Grant, John Henry Smith, and less frequently by others of the Twelve, Snow and Young traveled extensively in the colony. Of equal significance, they represented its interests in the general councils of the church, winning repeated aid for it and maintaining an affirmative attitude toward its continuation when conditions might have suggested the withdrawal of support.

With the intensification of the polygamy raids, Salt Lake City authorities made the Little Colorado an important sanctuary. Among those who hid there at one time or another were John W. and Brigham Young, Jr., Heber J. Grant, F. M. Lyman, Moses Thatcher, George W. Teasdale, Erastus Snow, and Wilford Woodruff. Involving themselves in its affairs, these fugitives not only influenced the course of the colony's development while they were on the underground but acquired a personal interest in its success. Some of them who likely would not have visited the area otherwise thus came to be its powerful advocates.

The impact of visiting General Authorities may be traced in the place names the country bears. The church's practice of naming towns after revered men is very much in evidence, and a chronological listing of settlement would be a relatively accurate index of the leaders active in the country or prominent in its promotion.[1] John W. Young, who had a special and, one suspects, obsequious passion for naming villages after well-placed individuals, ignored practice and local initiative to name Brigham City, St. Joseph, old Taylor, and Woodruff for top figures in the Mormon pantheon of saints. As Erastus Snow's important role emerged, Snowflake and Erastus, as Concho was known for a few years, were named after him. Old Taylor failing, President John Taylor was honored a second time when a town on Silver Creek was renamed Taylor. To the west on the Mogollon Rim, the names of Wilford and Heber reflected the sojourn of Wilford Woodruff at sheep camps in the area and Heber J. Grant's frequent visits to the colony. Francis M. Lyman left his brand upon the country at the Lyman Reservoir near St. Johns. While such names forfeited much in color to more colloquial nomenclature, such as Belly Button, Bull Holler, Lone Pine Crossing, and Concho, they made up in appreciation and reverence what they lacked in originality and imagination.

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[1] Although not entirely absent, this tendency is far less pronounced in the other areas of the South and Southeast that were colonized about the same period of time.

The perambulations of church leaders were also marked in the given names of the community's young. While the region's George Washingtons and Benjamin Franklins were not a few, its Brighams, Josephs, Heber C.'s, and Taylors were many. And the crop of Wilfords that corresponded with Woodruff's year-long exile in 1879-80 caused that worthy to take pause and note with pride that "I find quite a large number of fine children among the saints in Arizona named Wilford." Disowning direct responsibility for them, he continued: "But I am not the father of any of them but am what may be called the God Father of some of them if blessing them would make me so. And today I was called upon to Bless the son of Lot and Allice Ann Prichard Smith and he was named Wilford Woodruff Smith."[2]

The colony's close-knit society was in a special way the product of the personal acquaintance between its people and its leaders. Most colonists appear to have known at least one of the traveling authorities more or less intimately and many knew all of them. The result was an informal web of relationships that was perhaps the most important factor in the cohesion of the community. Many of the colonists had been called to northern Arizona because they were known to church leaders and their conduct under the pressures of pioneering consequently was a little more predictable. Once there, such associations were retained and colonists otherwise unmarked by prestige or position were favored with visits and attention from General Authorities. The lines of communication were remarkably open with lay members going again and again to visiting officials with their problems, or, on the other hand, being sought out by the latter who asked for information or an opinion relative to some matter of moment.

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[2] See "Wilford Woodruff's Journal," under date of January 3, 1880. A latter-day manifestation of this same practice may be observed among the Indian converts in the Navajo-Zuni Mission. Called on to christen the young, successful Indian missionaries have sprinkled the desert with children bearing their own names.

The bond between resident leaders and the General Authorities was particularly close. Most of the former were veterans of the church's experience and had shared its vicissitudes with apostles, presidents of the church, and other leaders. Typical was tough old Charles Shumway. Reputedly the first to cross the Mississippi's ice when the Saints fled Nauvoo in the winter of 1847, he had also been a member of the Mormon Battalion. Leaving the battalion at Santa Fe. he joined Brigham Young and the pioneer party on their entry to Salt Lake Valley in 1847. His life in Utah continued to be rich in its associations and experience, and he removed to Arizona with his place in the community assured and the channels of communication open to the top of the Mormon hierarchy. Lot Smith may serve as another example. Distinguishing himself in the Utah War, he enjoyed both a special niche in Mormon folklore and access to the church's most important men. Chosen by Brigham Young to head the mission of 1876, he frequently embarrassed the church but was never brought under effective control. In part this was due to the esteem in which he was held by his superiors, an esteem which manifest itself after his death when his body was disinterred at the order of the First Presidency and removed to his old home in Farmington.[3]

Polygamy was another important element in the cohesiveness of church leaders . Symbolizing the distinctiveness of the Saints, it was more prevalent among leaders than other classes in the church. On the Little Colorado, it came near being the badge of leadership and an appointment of importance was often followed by admonition to take additional wives. According to family tradition, Levi M. Savage, who was made bishop at Sunset in 1878, was taken aside the following year by Wilford Woodruff and shown scriptural evidence leading him to believe that plural marriage was a commandment that pertained to him personally. Obediently, he sought out Lenora Hatch, daughter of L. H. Hatch, made her his second wife in December of 1879, and subsequently married her sister Adeline.[4] Late in 1880 Jesse N. Smith, who unlike Savage already had several wives, was summoned to St. Johns by Erastus Snow and Brigham Young, Jr., who there gave him a "recommend to receive Sister Emma Larson as a member of" his family.[5] Whatever its moral implications, polygamy drew the most devoted men on the Little Colorado into an intertwined marital alliance in which filial bonds and an emotion-packed and highly personal mark reinforced the ties of organizational structure and common faith.

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[3] There was considerable sentiment that the partial estrangement Smith suffered during the last years of his life should not be emphasized by leaving his body in its isolated grave at Upper Calf Pasture near Moencopi. L. H. Hatch conveyed the kind of feelings that led to Smith's disinterment as well as a clear picture of the man's position among his fellows in the following from an account of a visit to Smith's original resting place:

> "Started up the reservoir canyon to visit Brother Lot Smith's grave. We traveled about four miles when we came to a very wretched lonely cabin made of cottonwood logs. Here Sister Mary Smith lived with her large family of small children, eight in number. The oldest boy was fifteen years. She lived in this lonely spot. Her nearest neighbor was a mile away. . . . A few rods from the cabin a level grave is marked with small pieces of boards. This grave is near some plum trees. The water is near the surface. I believe the coffin must be under water part of the year. My mind has been troubled over this lonely place, High mountain cliffs stand perpendicularly by. It is a very narrow canyon. The land is swampy and rich. Peach orchard and apple trees are the only redeeming features of this sorrowful spot. A mighty man was Brother Lot, a brave daring pioneer and soldier. History cannot say too much of this great man."

See "Lorenzo Hill Hatch Journal," p. 187.

Stake leaders, like those in Salt Lake City, traveled extensively, making annual and sometimes more frequent visits throughout the colony. The burdens of these trips fell especially heavily upon the presidency of the Eastern Arizona Stake as its jurisdiction extended at one time or another from Moencopi on the northwest to Smithville (later Solomonville) on the Gila River, encompassing a misshapen rectangle over 250 miles long and 150 miles wide. The routine of early visits was often interrupted, but as time passed the frontier conditions and anti-Mormon sentiment yielded to more amenable circumstances and trips were made regularly and in full regalia with auxiliary leaders joining the stake presidency in leisurely junkets. Pausing in the communities along the way and reminiscing of early days as they camped at familiar sites, they were often on the road for several weeks at a time. Traversing the stake more frequently than did General Authorities, stake officers were involved in every aspect of life, counseling church members on such diverse matters as Indian affairs, dam building, Gentile relations, and various religious questions. In addition to general preaching, local frictions were worked out, cases appealed from bishop's courts, ward organizations reconstituted, and tithing accounts settled.[6] Occasionally side tours resulted in

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[4] "Journal of Levi Mathers Savage," pp. 30, 37.

[5] In Utah John Taylor and his counselors openly directed "the Elders of Israel to take more wives," saying on at least one occasion that "there was no exaltation without it." So that none should misunderstand the meaning of the term, George Q. Cannon spelled it out, declaring that "what was called consecutive Polygamy, that is, having a wife who had died, and then marrying another, and so did not fill the bill, neither having dead women sealed to them." See "Diary of Charles Smith," typescript in BYU, p. 259.

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[6] Some Arizona bishops were woefully casual with church funds. Although none of them was ever accused of malfeasance, they kept few books, and during times of duress especially, some let their own affairs and those of the church become hopelessly entangled.

Of one bishop who had been forced to leave the country because of anti-bigamy action pending against him, the stake clerk charitably wrote:

> "The Bishop was in a very cramped condition and the handling of the tithing as private property was the result of a very large deficiency in his accounts, much of this shortage was probably on account of his being away as well as his own and others mismanagement. The accounts had not been entered as they should have been and I was of the opinion that much was taken in and used without an account of that which was used, loaned, or given to poor, etc. He was owing some $3,000 which was never paid, or at least a great portion

missionary work.

As elsewhere in the church, traveling authorities, who often planned their trips to coincide with ripening melons or other specialties, were given the finest that hospitality could provide. This meant not only that the year's best meal was served to them, but that contributions in cash and kind were given to aid in the ministry. Breaking the tedious cycle of hometown faces, their visits generally appear to have been appreciated.[7]

Revered and influential, stake leaders were not universally liked

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> of it had to be allowed to him as he had no means to meet this shortage and I suppose that a large share of it was a shortage that he should have been called on to settle."

See "Autobiography of Joseph Fish," p. 253.

[7] Following an 1882 visit to the scattered little town of Amity, Counselor L. H. Hatch entered a poem in his journal commemorating his visit from which the following is taken:

"We hail the messengers of peace.
We've prayed and waited long
That God would send his servants here
To rectify each wrong.

"And if we all have gone astray
May power be given to you
To see us now as we are seen
And scan our spirits through.

Chorus:

"We hail all noble men of God
Who are ever kind and Just
Who are meek and humble as a child
And true to every trust."

Entitled "Lines dedicated to President L. H. Hatch in response to his visit to Round Valley" and written by a "Sister Martha Bigler," this little expression is indicative of his activities there. See "Lorenzo Hill Hatch Journal," p. 130.

or accepted. Indeed, they were frequently rejected. Writing of conditions in the neighboring St. Joseph Stake in 1895, Joseph Fish noted that:

> Things in the stake spiritually were not in a very good condition. The President had but little influence and things were drifting along in a kind of haphazard kind of way. It was a common saying that if you wanted an enterprise to succeed, get the President to oppose it and if you wanted a measure killed get the President to favor it. This showed very nicely the lack of union among the bretheren.[8]

Although the strength of outside opposition and quality of leadership may have resulted in greater support for church authorities in Apache County, they too had their difficulties. This was true in both the temporal areas of their involvement and in their spiritual ministry.

Deeply rooted factional discords sometimes divided the leaders themselves. As we have observed, some schisms, like the United Order controversy, were over doctrinal questions; more were social in origin. At Snowflake, a deep-rooted split existed between Bishop John Hunt and the Flakes, who hailed originally from Beaver, and Jesse N. Smith and a retinue of followers including Joseph Fish and John R. Hulet from Parowan. Rightly claiming that Smith tended to fill the most important posts with the Parowan clique which was made the more cohesive by intermarriage, the Hunt-Flake contingent coexisted but carped about favoritism and nepotism until 1885. When Smith led the flight of polygamists from the colony late that year, Hunt took the initiative. Still complaining about nepotism and slights to his authority as bishop, he sought local and Salt Lake City support in a movement to have John Bushman of St. Joseph appointed in Smith's stead. Apprised of the insurgency, Smith gave up his exile and hurried back. After a long and rather petty exchange between the two factions, he finally removed a few of his Parowan friends and relatives from office. Thus patched, relations slowly improved. The cleft, however, was deep and effected many of the functions of the colony. The ACMI directors, for example, divided along Parowan-Beaver lines. Cross factional marriages appear to have been less frequent than intragroup unions. The chasm was carried over into the political divisions of the 1890's, the Hunts and Flakes joining the Democratic party and the Smiths the Republican.

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[8] "Autobiography of Joseph Fish," p. 328.

A Woman's Life

Perhaps no other function of the church involved its women more fully than did the pioneering process. Called as missionaries along with their husbands, they were partners in a holy undertaking. Without them, colonization could not have succeeded; with their best efforts, the margin of victory was still spare. Drab and plagued with inconvenience, their's was an existence of unremitting toil. Families were large and men were often not good providers. Frequently living in the shadow of disaster, women, nevertheless, appear to have found meaning and comfort in the sense of mission that actuated the church and in the associations of their communities.

While by no means silent partners, women were relegated to secondary roles in the priesthood dominated system of the church. Given tasks in the church's auxiliary organizations, they took little direct part in more important ecclesiastical matters and, with the exception of rare occasions, such as when the brothers of the St. Joseph United Order invited them in to help decide the order's future, they exerted no influence upon temporal affairs except as they could bring it to bear through their men.

The lines of church practice appear to have been somewhat more flexible than in subsequent times, permitting women to participate in activities since obsolete or impinging upon areas now regarded as the exclusive preserve of male members. For instance, cases of women pronouncing blessings that followed the pattern of the patriarchal blessing in everything but the gender of the person officiating were not unheard of, and at least one community's sisters divided themselves priesthood-like into "Quorums of the Mothers of Israel."[9] At Snowflake, women met frequently in prayer circles where they comforted and buoyed each other in the difficulties of pioneering and polygamy. The solace they found is apparent in the following from the pen of Lucy Hannah Flake:

> I felt depressed in my spirits and after I got my ironing done went up to my Dear sister Wests and we talked and then went up stares and poured out our soles in prair we had a glorious feast of prair and blessings we felt the power resting upon us I put my hands on her head and blessed her and she blest me I fasted and was greatly

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[9] Customarily given only by designated members of the priesthood, patriarchal blessings approximated for individual members the guiding role played by revelation for the church in general.

> blest and feel so thankfull for this blessed privelage I always get comfort when we offer our prairs up together.[10]

Women of the Little Colorado were perhaps even more insular in their activities and associations than were their men. Indeed, something of a dual standard existed in this respect with men, who, however reluctantly, had broad associations with Gentiles refusing to permit their wives and daughters to mix with them socially. The essential distinction between what was permissible was especially apparent in the sermons delivered during the polygamy crisis of 1884-86. Warning on one occasion that conversion did not come from "throwing our houses open" to the wicked, Jesse N. Smith told the brethren that if they would "be careful and not lose their faith," he was "willing they should work for outsiders." On the other hand, he would never, he declared, "consent to have our daughters led away by the wicked," emphasizing that they were not "to work as hired help in the houses of outsiders."[11] Along with polygamy, insulation of the "weaker sex" appears to have been regarded as a means of maintaining the integrity of the church. In this vein, Smith once told his followers:

> The only real argument ever brought against it /polygamy/ is this, the number of the males and females being nearly equal it is an injustice for some men to have more than one wife, as this will probably leave others without any at all. So far as proselyting goes far more women than men receive the gospel and join the Church. They will not marry outside the Church and were it not for the revelation

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[10] "Autobiography and Diary of Lucy Hannah White Flake," Vol. III, June 7, 1898.

[11] Journal of Jesse N. Smith, pp. 288, 292.

> restoring the principle of plural marriage they would be compelled to remain unmarried. . . . God does not sanction the giving of a pure woman to a corrupt man. . . . If there are men approved of God above their fellowmen is it not consistent and proper that unto them God should give good and virtuous wives?[12]

Generally restricted in the breadth of their activities, women were, however, encouraged to join the women's rights movement. Interested in the matter from the time colonization began, Little Coloradans welcomed the national and territorial movement as it gathered impetus in the 1890's. Guided by the church's interest, which made women's rights something of a pawn in the polygamy and Utah statehood conflicts, there were few radical overtones in their approach to the movement. One woman who in her church calling became a responsible and committed if not an ardent women's rights worker reflected the general attitude when she wrote:

> There is much said of women's rights. I don't beleave in equal rights I would like the Franchize but feel willing for the men to kill the snakes build the bridges and smoothe down the high places and hold the offices. I would like to see womens rights respected and held sacrid at all times and in all places.[13]

Often couched in Biblical terms, speeches in favor of women's rights sacrificed none of the priesthood's prerogatives. Addressing a rally at Woodruff, L. H. Hatch struck the dominant chord when he played upon the "history of Esther, Naomi, Ruth and of the creation of Adam and mother Eve, and of the women at the tomb and Rhoda declairing the glad tidings of Peter's deliverance."[14] As handmaidens to the priesthood, the sisters were entitled to the right to vote but, like their men, they did not conceive of the movement as freeing them from the social system of which they were part.

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[12] Ibid., pp. 263-64.

[13] "Autobiography and Diary of Lucy Hannah White Flake," II, March 15, 1895.

Characteristically, women's rights were embraced on an institutional rather than individual basis. Stake presidencies became its primary advocates and women's Relief Societies the nucleus around which it formed. Organized in the various wards, suffrage clubs were directed by local Relief Society leaders who used church facilities and meetings to advance their cause. Relatively active between 1895 and 1899, the movement declined after an attempt to pass a women's suffrage law failed in the Territorial Legislature during the latter year.[15]

Although essentially conservative in nature, stirrings of change did accompany the woman's rights movement. Some women took note of new developments in hygiene, midwifery, and nursing; a few even availed themselves of special courses in these subjects. Their interest, however, was to prepare themselves to serve the community rather than emancipate themselves from masculine domination. Indeed, so foreign were ideas of any change in the Mormon social structure that graduates of these courses were "set apart" or designated by church ordination to "act as midwives and nurses" in the Mormon villages.[16] In addition to such areas of interest, a very limited number of women also concerned themselves with silk culture and with something termed "reform in dress."[17]

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[14] "Lorenzo Hill Hatch Journal," p. 213.

[15] See Kelly, pp. 191-205.

Little Colorado women were submissive in polygamy as they were in church matters generally. Those who entered into plural relationships raised no questions as to the morality of the practice. Those who did not, appear to have been equally committed to it in principle, rarely objecting or stepping forward to testify against it.

Most plural marriages that can be documented appear to have grown out of non-romantic conditions. Often there was considerable disparity in age, and the brides themselves played a particularly passive role in the courting process with church authorities making the arrangement or the prospective husband dealing with the parents. Not surprisingly, many of these unions were initiated because of church or business ties or of deep friendship between men. An instance of the latter sort was that of Joseph Fish and Jesse N. Smith. Intimately associated in business and church, they cemented their relationship through marriage when Fish took Smith's daughter Adelaide as his third wife. The bonds were further strengthened later by the polygamous marriage of one of Smith's sons to one of Fish's daughters. In other cases, women were chosen because of qualities that seemed to suit them for the particular situation of the bridegroom with more than one Little Colorado girl being selected because of a sweet and permissive personality that gave good promise of being able to tolerate a first wife who was noted for her sharp tongue and bad temper.

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[16] "Lorenzo Hill Hatch Journal," p. 217.

[17] Ibid.

However, feminine initiative and romance were not always lacking. An interesting instance of the former occurred in 1879 when Jesse N. Smith, who was in Utah tying up the loose ends of his business and attending the Territorial Legislature, "received a letter from a young woman at Cedar City asking the privilege to become a member" of his family. Somewhat taken aback, Smith was nevertheless equal to the occasion as the following excerpt from his diary proves:

> I went to Cedar City and called on Bishop Lunt after first receiving the sanction of my family. The Bishop assured me the girl's character was good. I called on the family and explained the circumstances to the mother of the girl. The father was out with the sheep herd. The mother objected to me on two grounds: first I was poor, and second, I was going to Arizona, but the girl still expressed her preference for me. It was arranged that the girl should go home with me and get acquainted with my family, but when I called in the morning she asked me to give her back her letter as her mother was so much opposed to the arrangement. Thus ended the matter.[18]

It is difficult to say just what emotions motivated these strange proceedings.

On the other hand, Ida Hunt, daughter of the Snowflake bishop, was filled with delight and also with great sorrow by her deep love for David K. Udall. Combined with a belief that the doctrine of plural marriage was uplifting and divine, her attachment to Udall guided her through the painful process of deciding to marry the husband of a woman for whom she had the highest esteem and for whom she knew the entire process would be most painful. Something of her spirit as well as of the challenges implicit in polygamous marriage in 1882 is apparent in the following from her diary:

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[18] Journal of Jesse N. Smith, p. 237.

> Marriage, under ordinary circumstances is a grave and important step, but entering into Plural Marriage, in these perilous times is doubly so. May Heaven help me to keep the vows I have made sacred and pure, and may the deep unchangeable love which I feel for my husband today increase with every coming year, helping me to prove worthy of the love and confidence which he imposes in me, and to always be just and considerate to those the Lord has given unto him.[19]

Little Colorado apologists are unflinching in their defense of polygamy. Their assertions that life under these conditions was good and evocative of the highest human qualities ring true, yet the conclusion that it was a hard life can scarcely be avoided.[20] In the poverty and

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[19] "Diary of Ida Frances Hunt Udall," xerox copy in CHO, May 25, 1882.

[20] Written by Silas L. Fish, son of the polygamous union of Joseph and Adelaide Fish, the following defense of polygamy is not unusual in the evidence it advances and the fervor of its convictions.

> "I was frequently in the homes of several polygamous families, and I was born and reared in one of them. I know positively that no family relationship could be more pure and chaste than that of the families of which I had first hand information. There were minor jealousies and some hot words at times. But the polygamous families among the Mormons that I knew were as loyal and united as the BEST monogamous families that I have known. . . . I believe that the average polygamous family among the Mormons was above the average family elsewhere in chastity, unity, unselfishness, loyalty to church and state, and general good citizenship. . . . When the church practiced polygamy, it was the most unselfish and honorable of the group, as a rule, that entered into this relationship. They had to be unself-

crisis of the 1880's, the lot of the polygamist woman was particularly harrowing. If nothing else, it meant separation. For Ida Hunt Udall, the wedding march led in less than three years to a lonely exile in Utah as she fled Arizona Territory to remove the physical evidence that would indict her husband. For others, polygamy meant separation compounded with the direst need. Twice Joseph Fish found it necessary to move to Mexico. Twice he left his wife Adelaide with small children and little means of support. Impoverished and ill, she and the children survived; any sentimental attachment she entertained for Fish did not. Another of his wives, Eliza, who bore no children, left Arizona during this time of troubles, remaining in Utah for thirteen years before returning.[21]

Pioneering the area of Savoia, New Mexico, during 1876-77, Catherine Hatch, one of L. H. Hatch's three wives, was left "in a lonely condition among Mexicans, Zunis and Navajo Indians" for five months during the winter of 1877 while her husband brought another family from Cache Valley. Terrified by the smallpox epidemic, Catherine quarantined her own cabin, admitting no one, not even stricken members of the church, thus meriting the antagonism of braver but scarcely more brotherly individuals who in the tension of that terrible winter ostracized her,

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> ish, or it ended disasterously. . . . It was in its working out, a very selective principle, because of the procedure."

See "Notes on the Life and Writings of Joseph Fish," p. 19.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

leaving her in almost complete isolation and destitution.[22]

Nor was the lot of the polygamist wives who accompanied their husbands to Mexico in 1885 any better. Camped in a strange and as it proved hostile land, they suffered from illness and malnutrition during the summer and in a few cases were left behind to agonize under child loss and fear as their husbands felt it necessary to return to the United States.

In all this there was little tendency on the part of the women to reject either polygamy or the system that spawned it. Only one case has come to the attention of the writer in which a Little Colorado wife brought civil suit against her husband under the anti-bigamy laws. Even in this case, action was taken after she had exhausted all recourse within the church and lost touch with the economic reality of her husband's poverty.

In sum, the women of northern Arizona's polygamy were remarkably submissive and loyal. They often entered marriage without having been courted but gave themselves with few restrictions. Frequently neglected, they bore it with patience, exhibiting little tendency to attribute this neglect to other factors than the necessity of their circumstances.

Monotony punctuated with crisis but made bearable by the association of village society characterized the lives of most women. During early days, life was especially void of social amenities to relieve the sameness of pioneering tasks. In the camps and the villages, faces were eternally the same, or at least, so it seemed. Recurrent difficulty required common action; recurrent failure resulted in recrimination and bad feeling. Routines and social defenses broke, laying bare personalities so that to repetition was added the rawness of inconvenienced and anxious human beings. Differences growing from close living frequently led to disdain and, unless averted by changing circumstances or effective leadership, to persistent bitterness. Restricted to the villages without the outside interests that occupied the attention of men, such pressures fell most heavily upon women. Feeling it keenly, they longed for loved ones and for the richer life of the larger communities in Utah. Pent by a cankered social situation, a young wife in one camp wrote home in 1877:

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[22] "Lorenzo Hill Hatch Journal," pp. 101-102.

> Dear mother, I can realize how you loved the Society of Saints, for I long for the time to come when there will be some good Latter-day Saints come here to live. Do not think there is none here, but when you mingle with people everyday, you begin to know one another so well that there is nothing new.[23]

To social friction and the longings of a woman's heart were added distress occasioned by the natural elements. Less catastrophic in immediate effect than drought or cloudbursts, the spring wind of northern Arizona, blowing with a furious monotony cut away at morale and determination until at times it seemed life could scarcely go on. Coming from the southwest, the wind blasted down from the Mogollon Rim, rising in its fury as it broke from the pines and cedars of the upcountry to sweep across the desert, flinging rice-sized pebbles before it, filling the atmosphere with dust, and piling sand in drifts as it went. Beginning as a rule in February, it continued with infrequent letups until late June or early July. The first immigrants hopefully looked for early letup; the old timers accepted it with varying degrees of resignation. Always bad, the effect of the wind was worse in the dry years of the 1890's after the Aztec herds had picked the meager foliage from the hill country below the cedar line.

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[23] "Sketch of Maria Taylor McRae," Roberta Clayton MSS, BYU.

Men struggled with the wind, cursing it as they pursued their affairs, but its abrasive effects told on women as well. One who wilted before it was Lucy Flake from whose diary for March, April, and May in 1896--generally the months of the wind's greatest intensity--the following entries are taken:

> Monday, March 2; the wind blows all the time day and part of the time nights and I feel nearly sick.
> Tuseday, April 14, the wind it blows night and day, it is just fearfull the sand drifts like snow . . . John is herding cows William is reeding it seems lonely and dreary when the wind blows.
> Wednesday, April 15, the Wind blew hard all night and all day. . . .
> Thirsday, April 16, all well but the Wind gets worse and worse night and day.
> Saturday, April 18, Brother Flake and John came home this morning the Wind was so bad thirsday they laid up all day and could not travel. The wind blows very little today which is so nice. I cleaned up all the rooms and had a bath and am going to town. . . .
> Sunday, April 19, today is fearfull the Wind blows so bad. . . .
> Thirsday, April 30, this ends the month and I dont beleave there has been one day that the wind did not blow it has damaged the crops and covered them with sand filled up the ditches and made it very unpleasant but our Hevenly Father knows what this wind is for.
> Monday, May 10, I am on the place all alone it seems like this country was going to all blow away.

> Friday, May 15, the wind blows fearful the sand almost blinds one the children cant go out to play.[24]

Filled with despair by the unremitting wind, Mrs. Flake found her lonely life on a farm some two miles from town to be nearly intolerable. That it was not entirely so may have been due in part to the busy life she led. Among the activities that she chronicled one spring were gleaning wool from carcasses along the trail over which sheepmen were by this time making a seasonal circuit to and from the Salt River Valley, and picking, washing and cording it to make a mattress; whitewashing her home; gardening and irrigating; sewing, including making underwear, shirts and carpet rags; tending her grandchildren; and feeding her husband and growing sons, as well as numerous duties in her church capacity. On one occasion she set down in simple detail her morning chores which were certainly characteristic of her life and likely not atypical of Little Colorado pioneer women generally:

> I will just write my morning chores. Get up turn out my chickens draw a pail of watter, watter hot beds make a fire, put potatoes to cook then brush and sweep half inch of dust off floor and everything, feed three litters of chickens then mix bisquits, get breakfast, milk besides work in the house, and this morning had to go half mile after calves. This is the way of life on the farm. . . .[25]

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[24] "Autobiography and Diary of Lucy Hannah White Flake," II, May 16, 1896.

[25] One of the hardest things in the life of the women was the matter of water supply. The waters of the Little Colorado were both muddy and heavily impregnated with minerals; Silver Creek and other mountain tributaries were much better. For years water was hauled into town in barrels. This was particularly true of places like Woodruff and St. Joseph where the river was hard to control. Always bad, the water was

Hard-pressed financially, most women improvised and adapted, producing by their own labor many items that even at that early date were ordinarily purchased ready-made in more established communities. At Mormon Dairy and a few other spots throughout the country, women and older girls joined a man or two in milking hundreds of cows and manufacturing thousands of pounds of cheese and butter under the most primitive conditions. At Sunset and St. Joseph, they produced yarn and yard goods in crude woolen mills. Everywhere in the colony, carding, spinning, and knitting native wool into socks and other items of apparel were ordinary tasks. To many, home manufactury of clothing was a necessity. It was often done by hand from the crudest materials including burlap and wagon tarps.

On the women of the colony fell the major responsibilities of raising families and, all too often, of providing the living on which they subsisted. One widow, Eliza Rogers, with a large family of young boys homesteaded at a remote mountain spot called Clay Springs some thirty miles southwest of Snowflake. There, with her sons who became less

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especially unpalatable immediately after the dought of the early 1890's when tens of thousands of cattle had piled up around water holes and along the dry river and died. Running through and over the carcasses, the water was in the words of one settler so "bad you had to bite if off." Women used a variety of techniques in their attempts to make it potable. Ashes and other materials were dumped in it to help it settle, but even when the rich red mud had settled out water retained a slight milky color. Inevitably food and clothing cooked and washed in river water showed the effect. Light colored foods took on a dull brownish color and clothing was all reddened.

amenable to work as they became physically able, she eked out the barest existence. Shifting for herself, Mrs. Rogers raised the entire family. Late in life, but still determined and independent, she took offense at some neighborly slight and, caring for herself as she had done for years, set out to walk the miles between Snowflake and her own home. Losing her way in a December storm, she failed to strike a fire with flint and steel with which she had equipped herself and, among the cedars of Horse Prairie some miles off course, she ended her lonely and stubborn struggle with the Little Colorado's frontier.[26]

Few women paid their price in such solitude. Most found some satisfaction for their social needs in the activities of the church. This, however, was much more often the case among those who made their residences in one of the villages than for those who like Eliza Rogers lived much of their lives on isolated ranches. Like church leaders who inveighed repeatedly against scattering, women were deeply aware of the advantages of group living, and some of them took occasion to express their preference. Mrs. Flake, living in town during the late fall and winter and on a nearby ranch during the remainder of the year, was one of them. Buffeted by wind and burdened with farm work, she longed for the company of town during the months on the ranch and feared returning to it while in town. After quite a round of social and church activities in in the winter of 1894, she wistfully revealed to her diary:

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[26] For the story of the death of "Aunt Eliza Rogers," see Snowflake Herald, February 25, 1965.

> This closes the month of March. . . . I have had much pleasure with my Sisters in meetings and invited parties and have had the privelage of visiting my children and Grand children but next month we must move to the Farm then these nice times will end for we will have to stay more at home. I dont care much about going but always try to make duty a plesure.[27]

Although she repeatedly lamented her lonely plight, even her summers were not unbroken solitude. "Invertations," as she called them, "entertainments," and church duties brought visitors to the ranch and gave her occasional excuses to leave it. Though not entirely typical in her needs for society nor in her access to it, Mrs. Flake's yearnings and her success in filling them indicate the importance of village society in the woman's life. Perhaps her attitude and that of most Little Colorado women was not, after all, unlike that of the starving Irish woman told of by Carl Degler, who taken from the city and given a job in the country was soon back in her urban haunts, muttering that "Paples is more coompany than Sthumps."[28]

Housing

Colonists spent their first years in a variety of makeshift houses. For some, this was a transitional matter and well-built comfortable homes were soon provided. For many, however, housing remained crude and totally lacking in comforts and conveniences until after the turn of the century.

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[27] "Autobiography and Diary of Lucy Hannah White Flake," II, March 31, 1895.

[28] Carl N. Degler, Out of Our Past, The Forces That Shaped Modern America (New York: Harper & Row, 1959), p. 307.

The first homes were wagon boxes, usually lifted from running gears and set on blocks. Cooking and living outside or under brush-covered, open-sided sheds, pioneers found minimum privacy and escaped the worst of the weather's inclemency in the covered wagon boxes. More permanent but still extremely crude facilities soon replaced or at least supplemented the wagon-box homes. Using convenient materials, dugouts, cabins, forts, and rock huts were hastily put together. "Shingled with mud," these had few windows or none at all, dirt floors, and dangerous flues and fireplaces. Lumber being available in the colony, many homes, but by no means all of them, appear to have had door jams, doors, and window sashes. Size varied from tiny huts in which no more than two people could camp in cramped quarters to the multiunit forts of the United Order villages. Capacity, however, was often more a matter of need than of space and when necessary, surprising numbers of people crowded into one-room houses. Samuel H. Rogers, who arrived at Snowflake in January of 1880, related that the entire party with which he immigrated "all lived in one room" except himself and his wife, who in spite of abnormally cold weather preferred to stay in their covered wagon because, as he put it, "all in one room was pretty thick."[29] The Standifird family and others totaling eighteen people made their quarters in an eighteen-by-thirty-foot dugout at Silver Creek Crossing during the winter of 1879.

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[29] See "Diamond Jubilee Gems."

Built close to the ground, if not partially beneath it, many early homes were bothered with rodents and reptiles. In time, women overcame their antipathy for certain snakes, particularly the blow snakes, because of their value as rodent killers, and stories of pet blow snakes twining their way among the poles and willows of dugout roofs are not uncommon. In spite of their filth and the fact that they represented a standing invitation to mice and rats, dirt floors predominated in certain areas for years. Woodruff, according to one report, had no home with wooden floors until the middle 1880's.[30]

Life in such quarters was also rendered miserable by insects. While the regular discomforts of flies and mosquitos were borne in silence, bedbugs, which under the conditions of frontier life proved to be a real problem, occasioned considerable comment. Arriving at Alpine--or Bush Valley as it was then called in the summer of 1880, the Coleman family had a skirmish with them in which the bugs not only drew first blood but clearly won the initial encounters, though the final outcome is left indeterminant in the account of the event from which the following is extracted:

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[30] Wilford Hatch, who was born in the old Woodruff Fort in December of 1878, recalls the strangeness of lumber's feel to his bare feet on first entering the town's earliest floored home when he was five or six years of age. Interview with Wilford Hatch, Franklin, Idaho, August 20, 1966.

> The "Parson" [G. C. Williams] had several vacant houses and we moved in rent free. Those were built of cotton wood logs, chinked, and dobed, dirt floor and roof and consisted of from one to three rooms. We moved in immediately and set up house keeping. Next morning we moved all the beds out, set the wagon boxes off the wagons and used them for bed rooms. Say, folks, the bed bugs were so bad that we just couldn't sleep inside those houses. We finally had to take our meals outside. The bed bugs would fall down into the vittles when we were eating.[31]

The Colemans fought back; others resigned to their fate accepted the bugs as unwelcome but permanent guests. Such appears to have been the case at a cabin home on the Lone Pine Crossing of the West Showlow where Joseph Fish and Joseph W. Smith held a church meeting that was "eventful on account of the bedbugs." According to the latter's account:

> There was a chicken coop near the house, and there [that] had assisted the natural increase somewhat. We had scarcely started the meeting when they started. I never saw such a swarm of them. After I had taken my turn at speaking, I took a seat on a little box. That box was fairly alive with them. I sat quietly crushing them with my feet as they chased one another across the floor. I kept my fingers busy picking them off of my clothes. My situation was very undesirable, but as others seemed more or less engaged in the same business, I did not think I should be benefitted much by moving. Bro. Fish was speaking, and was really giving us a good sermon, but I was not in a situation to appreciate it. My greatest desire was that he would get to the Amen. But that was a word that it seemed he could not find. I finally got so nervous that I could not stand it any longer. Passing out as quietly as possible, I betook myself to the wood pile, and commenced a still hunt. I found fifty before meeting was out. Bad as it was for the balance of us, I felt to sympathize with the lady of the house. Her mortification was greater than our nervousness.[32]

Though colonists had more than a passing acquaintance with bedbugs, most kept them at arm's length by following the Coleman tactics and other preventative practices.

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[31] Coleman, "History of the Coleman Family," p. 34.

[32] "Diary of Joseph West Smith," pp. 37-38.

Earthen coverings were another irritant. During dry periods, life under them was tolerable. During severe storms, dirt-covered homes became veritable bogs as mud-laden water worked its way down. At times the only recourse was to move all perishable items back into covered wagons, which stood adjacent and often served as bedrooms, leaving the house not only for the duration of the storm but until the "after drip" had subsided. Growing weight, as more dirt was piled on in futile attempts to stop leaks, occasionally combined with the rotting of timbers, to result in cave-ins, the consequences of which were more aggravating than serious. In referring to such eventualities, one pioneer wrote:

> After a dirt roof had weathered one or two wet years it's supports became rotted and it "falls in" when least expected. If the family on such occasions was wrapped in profound and peaceful slumber, the rude and sudden awakening caused considerable excitement. The family immediately commenced to "dig out" emerging in all kinds of evening attire. If the family was outside on such an occasion they immediately commenced to "dig in."[33]

Crude and temporary dwellings of this type had some advantages. In the first place, they were cheap, costing no more than a few dollars and a few days' time to erect. Another factor was that they could be built from materials close at hand anywhere on the Little Colorado. Also the skills needed in construction were at an absolute minimum. Anyone could build them and do it rather quickly. During the early period when manpower and skills were at a premium in the development of water and new agricultural lands, they were of great utility. In the transient up-country ranches and villages where poverty was most pervasive, they continued to be used well into the twentieth century. Generally, however, Little Coloradans made immediate and persistent efforts to upgrade their homes.

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[33] Coleman, "History of the Coleman Family," p. 28.

The predominant architectural style in the region when they arrived was the low, flat-topped Mexican mud building. Squat and ugly, such structures had grown from the Indian tradition and were well adapted to the materials and natural conditions of the desert and canyon lands in which most of them stood. Repelled by their looks, Mormons ignored their practicality and in most cases built along characteristic Utah lines. Establishing their own sawmills and brick kilns, some of the Mormon towns began to take on an appearance of comfortable permanence by the end of their first decade in the country, and by 1895 a number of substantial private and public buildings were to be found.

Bothered with fewer natural and external problems than any other community of the Little Colorado, Snowflake's progress was relatively consistent, and the buildings that rose there probably represented the colony's best achievement along these lines. The first phase of the town's building development began immediately after Flake bought out Stinson in 1878. Before the next year had passed, twenty-five or thirty relatively commodious and comfortable log cabins and a schoolhouse had been built. Constructed in the main of hewn logs hauled down from the pine forests at Snowflake Camp, later Pinedale, the cabins had two or more rooms as well as doors, numerous windows, and shingled roofs. From the "Sunset saw mill" near Mormon Lake at a distance of 125 miles, they brought lumber for sheeting, doors, and window sashes.[34] Shingles and, somewhat later, lath for use in plastering were tediously made by hand.

This first construction appears to have been almost entirely a community effort with crews getting logs out and hewing them and boys--some of them very small boys--driving teams on the twenty-mile haul from Snowflake Camp, while builders in town concentrated their efforts, evidently rearing only one house at a time. As the seasons progressed, the more skilled carpenters continued construction while others worked on ditches and farmed for them. "Nerved up," as one of them put it, by the "anxiety of getting" homes, they found obvious satisfactions in their progress. Recounting the labors of the winter and spring of 1879, Joseph Fish wrote:

> A person sometimes takes as much pleasure in building a home as in occupying it after it is built. The life of a pioneer is a hard one but it is mingled with rays of light and joy in seeing the waste places made to blossom, and houses and gardens take the place of the sage brush that cover the deserts.[35]

One young man whose trip to Arizona had been his wedding excursion took a special delight in moving into his home, commemorating the event with the following notation in his journal:

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[34] Lot Smith of Sunset appears to have donated 25,000 feet of lumber which otherwise sold for $10 per thousand. See Fish, "History of the Eastern Arizona Stake," p. 49.

[35] See "Autobiography of Joseph Fish," p. 159.

> This was quite an event in our lives. To move into, and set up housekeeping in our home. It was a log house to be sure, but if it had been a brick house I dont think it would have been appreciated more. It was big enough for wife and me, and that was enough. And as to style and finish, why it had a shingle roofe! And that was sufficient distinction in those times.[36]

During the first year and a half, William J. Flake's home was apparently used for most of the community's public events. Enlarging and adapting one of Stinson's original adobe buildings, Flake opened his house to virtually all comers. It was the primary stopping place for travelers, both Mormon and Gentile, as well as the site of the first term of court held in Apache County and of Snowflake's first school and church meetings. In the fall of 1879, a log schoolhouse twenty-three by thirty-three feet in dimension was built by "public subscription." Completed in December, it was used for church affairs and school until 1883 when a stake house was completed.

With the construction of the stake house, building at Snowflake passed into a new era of which permanent public buildings and two- and three-story homes were the dominant aspect. While neither large nor elaborate in comparison to buildings in older more populous places, these structures had a simple clean strength about them that reflected an effort to give dignified and appropriate form to the needs of the community for permanence and purpose. Bearing the same strong New England influence that characterized Utah architecture of the same period, they showed no Spanish or southwestern qualities whatever. Of local design, they were frame and brick with the latter predominating. Most were of gabled construction. Some, following straight rectangular lines, were relatively simple. Others somewhat more elaborate and varied had multiple gables, porches, balconies, and at least one was topped by a balustrade or widow's walk. Architectural emphasis was given by covering entryways with pediments and spanning the length of the buildings with massive chimneys. The salmon color of the native brick set off by white painted woodwork lent itself admirably, contributing to the simple yet stable effect of the architecture.

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[36] "Diary of Joseph West Smith," p. 35. Some idea of the cash outlay involved in construction may be gained from the fact that he earned $116 working on the railroad grade; after paying his debts including some incurred in construction, he "had some $48 left." See p. 43.

Influenced by a number of capable and skilled builders, most noted among whom was Ralph Ramsey, who had played an important role in the construction of Brigham Young's Lion House and designed and built the Eagle Gate at the head of Salt Lake City's State Street, building flourished during the late 1880's and early 1890's. Interrupted by the Panic of 1893, neither the pace nor the aesthetic quality of the earlier work was ever resumed, although in terms of devotion and effort as well as architectural value the finest Little Colorado architectural achievement came in 1910 when the Stake Academy was completed. Unfortunately, this building which housed a secondary school burned almost immediately after its completion and was replaced by a red sandstone structure which in its ruggedness and durability was also indicative of the colony's spirit but lacked the grace and structural beauty of the earlier school.[37]

"Scattering" on the Southern Frontier

Although much remains unsaid about the social and cultural life of the Little Colorado colony, we may conclude this chapter by calling into focus an element of its character that has been implicit in many of the foregoing pages. Possessed of a core of settlers whose steadfastness lent it an essential stability, the Little Colorado community was at the same time part of a profoundly restless frontier population. Characterized by almost incessant motion, its society was doubly circumscribed in the area of its movement--once by the personal relations of the colonists and once by the general confines of the Mormon kingdom. Impelled by various factors, many if not most Little Coloradans joined in a protracted desert odyssey that carried them from place to place and too often drained their energy and consigned them to deepening poverty. Action was not restricted to what might ordinarily be regarded as unstable elements of the community, and the incidence of people taking leave who had for years been regarded as the very pillars of the colony serves to emphasize the extent of restlessness. Movement within the colony was almost constant, but internal comings and goings do not tell the entire story. It was a restlessness that was common to the entire region of colonization of which the Little Colorado was part, if indeed it was not church-wide. What follows is an attempt to take its measure and advance tentative explanations for it.

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[37] See photographs, p. 348. For photography of early Snowflake, the writer is indebted to Albert J. Levine of Snowflake. See his Snowflake, A Pictorial Review, 1878-1964 (published privately, 1964).

In some degree, instability was the product of widely accepted Mormon values and of practices consciously employed but not fully controlled in the church's process of expansion. A catalogue of centrifugal forces initiated by the church would include: the mission call by which the settler was uprooted from Utah and moved from one site to another on the frontier; the general climate of expansion which in Brigham Young's words required a "cautious and gradual" extension of the kingdom until the entire "country south" should be filled; the ferment of polygamy; and the need for good schools.[38] Each of these was in its own way fostered by the church and each interrupted life, requiring or suggesting change of location. Furthermore, there was an underlying rootlessness in the Mormon community that grew from the subordination of temporal values to the belief that Christ's second coming was imminent and the concomitant conviction that Latter-day Saints had to be ready, their "wicks trimmed" awaiting His command. Anticipating cataclysmic changes, including the church's exodus to Jackson County, Missouri, they bore trial and hardship with patience. Without fully eschewing the material world, they saw economic gain, including the acquisition of land and homes, as ephemeral and passing achievements.

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[38] See letter of Brigham Young to Daniel W. Jones, September 19, 1876, and letter of Brigham Young to Lot Smith, July 20, 1876, Brigham Young Letter Book for 1876, CHO.

But the restlessness of the southern frontier was also the product of economic need. Restricted in their alternatives by the self-sufficient agricultural economy of the church as well as by the natural and geographic limitations of the kingdom, almost none of the region's colonists became wealthy and only a fortunate few enjoyed any margin of surplus to tide them through hard times. In a land of recurrent crisis, stark want joined the general rootlessness of Mormon society to set hundreds of settlers on the roads throughout the church's southern provinces.

The effects of this circumstance are clearly revealed in the doings of Joseph Fish whose detailed diary enables us to trace his life on the frontier with considerable accuracy through at least fourteen moves between 1878 and 1900. After rather promising beginnings, his Arizona prospects were blasted by the polygamy dislocations of the 1880's. Thereafter, he never escaped the consequences of drought, washouts, and general mishap, though he moved repeatedly from Snowflake, Holbrook, and Woodruff and back again, took up two ranches, migrated to Mexico twice, and lived on the Gila River. Initiative and determination were not lacking, but opportunity was. The consequent result was a lifetime of movement and disappointment. In spite of his poverty and his willingness to embrace change to undo it, Fish neither left the general area designated in his call nor succumbed to the temptation to follow economic pursuits other than those prescribed by the church.[39]

Fish's case was not unusual. Peter Nielson made at least five moves between coming to Arizona in 1878 and his death at Juarez in 1886. Though he left no firsthand account, Peter Christofferson can also be traced in five moves. Jacob Hamblin, who had known no rest in a long life of church service, wandered in poverty from Alpine, to Pleasanton, New Mexico, to Mexico and back again to Pleasanton and Alpine before death finally relieved him in 1886. John Bloomfield dragged his large family from Cache Valley to Moencopi and, after a brief residence there, to Obed which he left for Sunset when Obed folded in 1877. Asking troublesome questions about Lot Smith's administration of the Sunset United Order, he was called to Savoia in 1882. Barely settled, he was uprooted once again by the polygamy prosecutions which sent him fleeing to Colonia Diaz, Mexico in 1885. Living there until 1887, he returned to Ramah, as Savoia was called by that time. Finding no opportunity, he moved to Kirtland on the San Juan River in 1889 where he remained until 1894 when he returned to Ramah.[40]

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[39] Once offered an opportunity to set up a business at Holbrook in conjunction with Gentile interests, Fish rejected it, though he subsequently "thought many times" that "he might have done better" had he taken the offer. See "Autobiography of Joseph Fish," p. 246.

[40] For Peter Nielson's travels, see "Diary of Peter Nielson," p. 216-24. Data on Peter Christofferson is found in the diaries of Jesse N. Smith, Joseph Fish, Levi Savage, and L. H. Hatch. Hamblin's

Such chronicles could be multiplied but would still fail to measure the entirety of the southern frontier's instability. Far less easy to trace because they left no record of their own actions, and because, aside from sermons condemning "scattering," few paid them any heed was a fluid shifting element that moved from one mountain spot to another, hoping desperately that rains would enable them to eke out a living on dry-land farms or that some ill-starred and poorly directed water development would be successful.

Perhaps the restlessness of pioneering Mormons is nowhere better revealed than in the diaries and letters of the family of Lewis Barney. Their longings focusing upon the church, the father and his children anxiously followed the advances of the frontier, crossing back and forth over most of the vast region lying between Mexico and Wyoming. Nowhere were their economic needs met and nowhere were their inner desires fully satisfied. Because it vividly illustrates not only the restlessness of the southeastern frontier but also many of the forces that precipitated movement, we shall look at the Barney experience in some detail.

"Broken up in Sanpete" by the Indian wars of the 1860's, Barneys probed about in the Sevier Valley touching down briefly at Richfield, Marysvale, and Circleville. At the latter spot, they planted crops and for a short time enjoyed fair prospects before, according to Barney's

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last years are traced in Paul Bailey, Jacob Hamblin, Buckskin Apostle (Los Angeles: Westlore Press, 1948).

own account, a "poison wind" sprang up killing their crops and the forage in the area. Discouraged, the elder Barney decided to look for "some more suitable location." In a notation that betrays how he followed the promptings of the spirit as well as his strong attachment to his family, he wrote:

> I then told them /his sons/ that we would do no good here and we would not prosper in this valley and that I had made up my mind to go back. They concluded to try it where they were and remain on their claims. Finding I could not persuade them to go with me I hitched up my team and started down the river, but my mind was worried about my family, I was about three miles . . . turned out the team and went back. If possable to get my family to come away. I went up into the canyon where the boys were getting out logs. There I laid before them my feelings in relation to them staying there, and that I did not believe they would ever do any good or be prospered in that place. But I could not induce them to come away. So I left them with a heavy heart bowed down with sorrow.[41]

After shifting about in southern Utah for the next fifteen years, Lewis Barney and part of his family set out for "Lunis Valley" in New Mexico. Working their way east and south in the direst poverty, they arrived early in 1882. Trading their guns and other items for food, they maintained life during the spring. With most resources exhausted, they were temporarily heartened by word of a "house to be built" at Montrose some twenty or thirty miles away. After a hard trip during the course of which their oxen gave out requiring them to leave their outfit and make their way on foot, carrying their tools, they arrived only to find they had missed "the party that wanted the house built." While a son went on to

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[41] "Journal of Lewis Barney," p. 90.

Round Valley looking for work, Barney made his way back, arriving "sick, tired and hungry." Demoralized and suffering, they were plunged into deepening gloom when a mid-June frost killed their hopes of a harvest. Moving on to the Gila Valley, they spread, some about southern Arizona and some back to Utah.[42]

Meantime, another son, Arthur, worked at railroad construction and freighting in central and southeast Utah before locating in the neighborhood of Sam Gilson's ranch in the mouth of Salina Canyon. Following the flow of settlers into Castle Valley, he moved onto the Muddy of eastern Utah where he lived from 1882 until 1885. In the latter year he went to "Joe's Valley . . . between Castle Valley and Sanpete county" on the Wasatch Plateau. Moving to Wellington the next year, he stayed until 1889 when, frightened by a diptheria epidemic, he left his small holdings, taking his family "into the mountains" where he cut ties for a year before going on to Smith's fork near Fort Bridger in 1890.[43]

In 1887 Lewis Barney was back in Utah. By now seventy-nine years of age, he was ready to get "a place and settle down for life."

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[42] Ibid., pp. 180-87.

[43] See "Arthur Barney Journal," pp. 40-43. Barney manifest a frank tendency, rare among journal keepers of the time, to attribute church office to social position and the hope of pecuniary gain. Although he sometimes held lesser offices, his loyalty was somewhat less to the church as a social institution than most of those upon whose accounts this study has depended.

But even in his advanced years circumstances led his attention from one spot to another without his ever finding a place to rest. His interest now was usually attracted by one of his numerous family. Writing from Wellington, Utah, where he was staying with his son, he noted:

> My family is scattered all over the country. Betsey, Henry and Joseph at Kanosh, Millard county, Utah, Walter is on the Gila River, Arizona. David is in Texas . . . Elizabeth and Emiline is at Bowie Station, Arizona, and Martha Ann is at Miller Creek about fifteen miles from here.[44]

But the family was not long static and the kind of tidings that had always characterized their lives soon came from Kanosh. Venting his discontent, Lewis' son Henry wrote:

> Times get worse here for making a living, we have sustained a heavy loss on our sheep herd and we will come out way behind and have lost several head of horned stock and horses, crops look middling well. I have not got much of a crop this season, I have just finished my wheat. I only got eighty [eight?] bushels to the acre, my corn did not do well, and have finished hauling my hay and only had eighteen loads at that. I should like mighty well to find a good place to move to, where I could live without so much hard work, you think of going to Colorado and I am thinking of going there myself and homesteading some land, I should like to look at the country and if you find a good place let me know, it may be that Joseph and I will come out there to that country, I would like it if we could live togather in some good place. . . .[45]

Earlier in the same year, another son, David, had made his way back from Texas as far as Mancos, Colorado. Excited by the prospects of cheap land and southwestern Colorado's farming potential, he had written letters encouraging others of the family to join him. Given the dearth of opportunity in their circumstances, the lure of a new beginning drew at them as it had done before. But without revealing how many of the family removed to Colorado, the account of these nomadic wanderings ended with a letter written to Mr. Barney in September of 1890 informing him that "Albert and Emiline" had moved from Bowie Station to Showlow, Arizona.[46]

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[44] Letter to John Barney included in "Journal of Lewis Barney," pp. 164-65.

[45] Ibid., see letter of J. H. Barney, June 29, 1888.

Colonists whose economic needs were met, even in a modest way, appear to have been far more stable. Such families as the Smiths, Hunts, and Flakes at Snowflake and the Udalls and Platts at St. Johns moved with infrequency though change of residence was not unknown among them either. After his arrival at Snowflake in 1878, Jesse N. Smith made only two moves--to Mexico and back again--both in 1885. After a short sojourn at Savoia, John Hunt appears to have spent the remainder of his life at Snowflake, enjoying a comfortable living and the perquisites of his office as bishop. Udall, on the otherhand, was not only uprooted by his imprisonment in Detroit, but lived at various times in St. Johns, Round Valley, and Hunt. In his case, however, desire to develop economic opportunity for himself and the community appears to have been the prime reason for movement rather than dire need. Not only did the original pioneers of these families prove to be relatively stable, but a goodly number of their sons and daughters were able to earn a livelihood and remained in the area.

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[46] Ibid., see letter of David Barney to Lewis Barney, September 14, 1890.

In many cases, however, settlers who to all appearances did well economically and played prominent and satisfying roles in the church and social life of the colony never really struck root. Some of these returned to Utah; others moved on to the Salt River Valley or elsewhere in Arizona. Apparent in the foregoing is another fact about the Mormon society of these outlying areas. Not only did it suffer frequent failures in its efforts to provide economic opportunity, but some of its members also failed to fill their needs for participation in the development of the kingdom. A good deal of economic hardship could be borne and frequently was if the other yearnings of men's souls were filled. Levi Savage, for instance, lived for years under very close financial circumstances at Woodruff, but as bishop and stake clerk he was a member of the local leadership group. His opinion was valued and respected and, perhaps most important, his determination and qualities of leadership were urgently needed. So vital did his local superiors consider his role that when he was released by the president of the church after twenty-five years as bishop, the stake presidency asked him to stay on for a time to accomplish certain crucial tasks. His was not an easy life nor a prosperous one, but it did fulfill his sense of mission. Many of the permanent settlers shared in the essentials of his experience, living fruitful if humble lives.

Some, however, were less fortunate. We have seen the Barney's quest. Another who was frustrated in his need to build the kingdom was

Allen Frost. A versatile and gifted, if cranky Englishman, Frost arrived in Snowflake from Nutrioso in 1889. His skills which included carpentering, school teaching, surveying, architectural designing, brickmaking and masonry, and musical talent were eagerly caught up by the community. During the time of prosperity that characterized Snowflake from 1889 to 1892, Frost was in the forefront of affairs, designing important public and private structures, playing a key role in the movement to establish an academy, and helping divide the land purchase, as well as teaching school and building up his own home. A sense of vitality and progress are clearly felt in Frost's journal as is his own satisfaction at being able to contribute to the town's development.[47] But by 1893 a change of attitude was apparent. Removed from his position as teacher in that year, he was increasingly barred from public life in the years that followed. Almost complete by 1898, his exclusion appears to have been in large measure the product of personality conflicts, but it was also a matter of social acceptance. Although previously a member of the high council in the Kanab Stake, he never penetrated the front ranks of church leadership in Snowflake. Furthermore, he lacked the protection that important marital connections afforded many of the residents of the interrelated community.

As the doors closed before him, Frost turned increasingly to outside activities. Teaching first in other Mormon villages which were anxious to have his services, he later took up frieghting and contracting at Holbrook and Winslow to relieve his financial need and provide gainful family-oriented employment for his sons. No longer taking an active part in community affairs, he remained at Snowflake, but his talents and enthusiasm were lost. The tragedy was the greater because, failing to develop a situation in which Frost and the many others who were virtually unused could function effectively, the community and the church as well as the individuals were losers.

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[47] See "Diary of Allen Frost," pp. 551-898 for his Snowflake experience.

Allen Frost's Snowflake and the other villages on the Little Colorado River were well established by 1900. The struggle to acquire land, develop water, and to find a place among Arizona's people had all been solved in some degree. While the community's achievement was less than its founders had hoped, there was no doubt that in its miminum requirements, Mormon expansion onto the Little Colorado was successful. This modest success was the product of loyalty, suffering, and communal effort. Because the passing of the American frontier and the developing Mormon reconcilation to the world rendered them obsolete, many of the processes by which it had been founded were increasingly becoming part of the past. But the community remained. Shaped by the determination of its settlers and the paucity of its natural resources, its character would yield only slowly to the greater society of which it was a part.

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Without making any effort to give the history of the various papers, this list indicates the present whereabouts and the runs of Arizona newspapers from earliest territorial times to the present. A useful tool for researchers and students.

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A selected bibliography on varied writings on Arizona. Brief meaningful descriptions.

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Brandes, Ray. "A Guide to the Collections of the Arizona Pioneer's Historical Society." Tucson: Mimeographed by the Arizona Pioneer's Historical Society, 1961.

Describing each of 450 manuscript collections in detail, Brandes' guide is a most useful tool. A workable and thorough index further enhances its value.

Ellsworth, S. George. *A Guide to Utah Manuscripts in the Bancroft Library with an Introduction to Hubert Howe Bancroft and the History of Utah.* Reprint from *Utah Historical Quarterly,* XXVII (1954).
An annotated guide to the manuscripts collected by Bancroft in connection with the writing of the *History of Utah, 1540-1886*.

Esshom, Frank W. *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*. Salt Lake City: The Utah Pioneer Publishing Co., 1913.
An excellent biographical guide to Utah pioneers.

Farish, Thomas Edwin. *History of Arizona*. 8 vols. San Francisco: The Filmer Brothers Electrotype Co., 1915-18.
Useful as a guide because of its extensive quotations of original documents and other sources.

Jenson, Andrew. *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*. 4 vols. Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1901-36.
A most valuable biographical guide to early Mormons.

Logan, Ida Marie. "Utah, the Mormons, and the West: A Bibliography," *Utah Historical Quarterly*. XXV-XXVIII (1954-57).
Theses and dissertations about the Mormons and Utah done outside of Utah.

Lautrell, Estelle. *Newspapers and Periodicals of Arizona 1859-1911*. University of Arizona Bulletin #15. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1949.
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Winther, Oscar Osburn. *A Classified Bibliography of the Periodical Literature of the Trans-Mississippi West (1811-1957)*.
Useful for general history of Arizona and Utah.

Diaries and Other Manuscript Materials

The following materials are listed alphabetically according to the writer's name.

Amundsen, Andrew. "Journal of a Mission to the San Francisko Mountains, Commenced March 26th 1873."
The delightfully misspelled original is in the Church Historian's Office. A revealing account of the Arizona Mission of 1873, this diary reflects the company's reaction to northern Arizona as well as the make up and character of the mission.

"Arthur Barney Journal, Leota, Utah, February 7, 1933."
Written late in life, Barney's journal focuses upon the colonization of eastern Utah and Wyoming. He traces his wanderings over the Colorado Plateau with considerable detail and conveys the atmosphere of poverty and the unrequited yearnings that were often the product of the Mormon church's policy of desert colonization.

"Journal of Lewis Barney."
The original diary is in the hands of Ray Woodruff Barney of Randlett, Utah. A typescript copy was made in 1965 by the Brigham Young University Library. The first half of Barney's diary is devoted to a sketch of his early activities. Beginning in 1881, daily entries are intermittently made. Containing many letters, it indicates the mobility of Mormon pioneers.

"Memorandum, Account Book and Diary of Alfred N. Billings. 1855."
J. Dwight Billings had the original in 1941 and a typed copy is presently at the Brigham Young University. A record of the Elk Mountain Mission to present Moab in 1855.

Brinkerhoff, Joseph. "A History of Tuba City."
Random notes in the possession of Hazel M. Brinkerhoff, Mesa, Arizona. Personal in nature and of limited value.

"Diary of John Bushman, 1876, 1877, and 1890."
Typed by George S. Tanner from handwritten originals which belong to M. D. Bushman at Snowflake, Arizona and A. E. Bushman of Mesa. Beginning with his call to Arizona, Bushman's record is especially useful for the call, the trip south, colonization, and dam building at St. Joseph.

"The Life and Labors of John Bushman."
Rewritten from his original diaries, this journal is perhaps the most complete source on early day events at St. Joseph. Numerous copies that vary in some important details exist.

"John Bushman's Book of Appraisal."
The original is owned by George S. Tanner of Salt Lake City; a typed copy is in the Brigham Young University Library. A useful source for the study of the Arizona United Orders, especially the one at St. Joseph.

"Diary of Christian Lingo Christensen."

Typed copy in the Brigham Young University Library. Includes a summary of Christensen's life to 1883, a day by day record to 1887, and miscellaneous entries thereafter. A good source on Indian affairs and life at Moencopi from 1876 to 1886, when Christensen removed to Utah's San Juan.

"Roberta Clayton Manuscript."

A typed copy now being compiled at the Brigham Young University contains numerous sketches and biographies of northern Arizona pioneer women.

Coleman, Evans, Papers.

Located at the Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society Library in Tucson, this vast collection fills thirty-one boxes covering from 1886-1950. Including stories by Coleman about St. Johns, Alpine, and other northern Arizona places, many biographic sketches of Little Colorado settlers and Coleman's diary for 1896 to 1902, this collection is one of the most fruitful sources for Mormon colonization of the Little Colorado.

Coleman, Prime T., Papers.

In the two boxes of this collection are Coleman's diary of 1878 to 1890 and various papers. Describes his trips from Lower and Upper Kanab, Silver Reef, and Panguitch, and his Arizona cowboying activities. Found in the Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society Library.

"Diary of Winslow Farr."

Copy in the Brigham Young University Library. Among other things Farr traces his flight from Ogden south to Mexico to avoid apprehension for illegal cohabitation.

"Autobiography of Joseph Fish."

The typed original is in the Church Historian's Office. Various family members and the present writer have copies. Covering from 1840-1926, the 500 pages of Fish's autobiography begin and end in Utah but also record the period spent in Arizona, 1878-1916. Ably written by a pioneer historian, it is among the best sources on travel between Utah and Arizona and on church and cultural affairs in the Little Colorado colony. It is also the best single source on pioneer Mormon economic and political affairs in northern Arizona.

"Journal of Joseph Fish."

The typed original is in the Church Historian's Office. Somewhat shorter than the "Autobiography," it was used in compiling the latter. Like the "Autobiography," it represents the Mormon point of view but does it with restraint and justice. An earlier handwritten copy is owned by Silas L. Fish of Phoenix.

Fish, Joseph. "History of the Eastern Arizona Stake of Zion and of the Establishment of the Snowflake Stake, 1879-1893."

Not an official history, this manuscript exists in typed form in several copies, one of which is in the Church Historian's Office. A valuable and usable sketch of the Little Colorado Colony.

Fish, Joseph. "Manuscript History of Arizona."

Probably the first general history of Arizona ever written (completed 1906), this substantial work has never been published. Deposited with the Territorial Historian at an early date, it has frequently been used by subsequent historians. Chapters IV through IX deal with Mormon colonization.

Fish, Julia Ann Reidhead. "A Sketch of the Lives of John Reidhead, Julia Ann York Reidhead and Julia Ann Reidhead Fish."

This pioneer account briefly describes the lives of its subjects including the time they lived on the Little Colorado.

Fish, Silas L. "Notes on the Life and Writings of Joseph Fish."

A summary of the writings of Joseph Fish. Has some value as an index to Joseph Fish's "Autobiography" and "Journal." Typed copy in the Church Historian's Office.

"Autobiography and Diary of Lucy Hannah White Flake."

Original and typed copies at Brigham Young University Library. Begins in 1894 and ends with the death of Mrs. Flake in 1900 but includes pertinent reminiscences on the migration to Arizona and colonization.

"Diary of Allen Frost, 1838-1901."

The original diaries belong to Augusta Flake of Snowflake, Arizona. Typed copies are in the Brigham Young University Library. A faithfully kept account of a versatile settler at Kanab, Nutrioso, and Snowflake.

"Diary of Andrew S. Gibbons."

Handwritten original in possession of Genevieve G. Anderson.

"Diary of Thales H. Haskell 1859-1860."

Covers an expedition to the Hopi Mesas and Haskell's sojourn among the Indians. The original and typed copies are in the Brigham Young University Library.

"Thales Hastings Haskell, Pioneer, Scout, Explorer, Indian Missionary, 1847-1909." Edited and compiled by Albert E. Smith, 1964.

A compilation of sketches and documents the most useful of which are excerpts from Haskell's Diary. The latter contains some information on early day Sunset and considerable on Moencopi before 1879. Multilithed copy in the Brigham Young University Library.

"Lorenzo Hill Hatch Journal."

Edited by Ruth S. Hilton from the original handwritten diaries which are in the Church Historian's Office. The Arizona period of Hatch's journal (1876 to 1901) includes in addition to much data on the Zuni Indian mission, church matters, and polygamy, and an account of nearly a quarter of a century's struggle to dam the Little Colorado River at Woodruff. The best source for early Woodruff.

"Oliver B. Huntington Diary."

Typed copy at the Brigham Young University Library. An account of the Elk Mountain Mission to "Little Grand Valley" or present Moab in 1855.

"J. N. Heywood Diary 1872-1880."

Has to do with ranching and stock raising at Kanab, St. George, and Ft. Pierce. Only indirectly related to the settlement of northern Arizona. Among Prime T. Coleman papers at Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society Library.

J. N. Heywood, Jr. Collection.

Located at the Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society Library, this collection includes correspondence, family diaries telling of trips to Kanab, Alpine, and other places as well as manuscripts on events and personalities of early northern Arizona.

"Anthony Woodward Ivins Journal."

The handwritten original is in the Church Historian's Office; a microfilm copy is at the University of Utah Library. Contains day to day account of two missions to the Little Colorado country, one in 1875, the other in 1878. Also considerable information on Indian affairs, the Mexican Mission, and northern Arizona's cattle industry.

LeSueur, James Warren, Papers.
Manuscripts on various subjects and characters of northern Arizona history including Lot Smith, the Hash Knife Company, the United Order, and Jacob Hamblin as well as autobiographical material and numerous letters from Wilford Woodruff to Ammon M. Tenney and others. This collection is at the Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society Library.

Ladd, Samuel G. "Settlement of the Little Colorado Country, Arizona."
The original of this eleven page resume of the Little Colorado's settlement is in the Bancroft Library. Microfilm copies are in the Brigham Young University and the University of Utah Libraries.

"Journal of Daniel H. McAllister, Northern Arizona, 1876-66."
A typescript is at the Brigham Young University Library, a photocopy of which is in the hands of the present writer. Beginning in January 1876, this is a running account of the fourteen months McAllister spent on the Little Colorado.

"Biographical Sketches of John McLaws."
Includes biographical materials on John W. McLaws, Ellen Elsie McLaws and several other Little Colorado pioneers. The original manuscripts are in the possession of John W. McLaws of Holbrook, Arizona; copies are at the Brigham Young University Library.

"John McLaws Account Book."
In the hands of George S. Tanner of Salt Lake City, this careful account reveals the economic affairs of one St. Joseph settler in day to day detail. Particularly apparent is the substitution of barter for money.

"Diary of John McLaws, Jr. 1852-1895."
A typed copy is in the Brigham Young University Library; the original is owned by John W. McLaws of Holbrook, Arizona. Recounts the writer's role in dam building, Indian missionary work, and general life at St. Joseph.

"Diary of Emma W. Mechan Nielson."
Beginning with 1887 and running with lapses until 1895, Mrs. Nielson's diary reveals much about a woman's life at Ramah, New Mexico. One of the few Little Colorado diaries by a woman, it is a most valuable source on polygamy and the cultural stagnation some Little Colorado pioneers felt.

"Journals of Friehoff Godfrey Nielson 1875-1935."

Placed in the Church Historian's Office in 1966 by Friehoff Ellis Nielson, this is probably the best account of life in the Sunset United Order. Also in the Church Historian's Office are Nielson's "Autobiography and Notes 1851-1933."

"Diary of Peter Nielson."

Translated from the Danish by J. F. Nielson and compiled by F. E. Nielson, it has been privately multilithed. Only the last few pages deal with Mr. Nielson's decade on the Little Colorado frontier but these nevertheless provide useful data on movement within the colony and about the growth of Ramah, New Mexico.

"Diary of L. John Nuttall 1834-1905."

Secretary to John Taylor and Wilford Woodruff, Nuttall recorded many of their doings. His diary is consequently most useful for tracing the role of church leaders in the colonizing process including that of the Little Colorado. The handwritten original belongs to Mrs. Clara Nuttal Glass of Provo; a typed copy is at Brigham Young University Library. Several letter press books of Nuttall's are also at Brigham Young. Though mostly concerned with affairs at Kanab, some of his correspondence overlapped into northern Arizona matters.

"William B. Pace Diary of the Elk Mountain Mission 1855-1856."

Begins April 6, 1855 with Pace's call and ends in February of 1856. Typed copy at Brigham Young University.

"A Journal of the Life and Travels of S. U. Porter."

In two handwritten volumes, Porter's journal is now at the Brigham Young University Library. Dealing with northern Arizona after 1884, it traces Porter's activities at St. Joseph and Heber.

"Diary of John Pulsipher."

Typescript at Bancroft Library, microfilm at the University of Utah Library. While not pertaining directly to the colonization of northern Arizona, Pulsipher's account contains much relevant material on the mission call, polygamy, and colonization.

"Journal of Samuel Hollister Rogers."

The original diary belongs to Sarah Rogers Decker of Snowflake. Typescript copy at Brigham Young University. Traces his move to Arizona and his activities as a colonist there.

"Diary of Levi Mathers Savage, 1873."

A daily account of young Savage's affairs including a call to Arizona which was not filled until later. Recording several meetings with returning missionaries of 1873's unsuccessful attempt to colonize the Little Colorado, the diary throws much light on their reaction to northern Arizona. Original belongs to Joseph Savage of Chandler, Arizona; a typed copy is in the Western History Center at the University of Utah.

"Journal of Levi Mathers Savage."

Original in Church Historian's Office; a multilithed version has been edited by Ruth S. Hilton and put out by the Savage family. Chronicling over a half century on Mormon frontiers, most of this diary deals with Savage's experiences at Sunset, in Mexico, and at Woodruff.

Smith, Lot, Papers.

At the University of Arizona Library, this large collection consists of official correspondence between Smith and the Salt Lake City leaders of the church. Of primary worth for study of colonization of the lower river villages of Sunset, Brigham City, Obed, and Joseph City as well as a rich source on the role of one of northern Arizona's most colorful characters.

"Journal of Jesse N. Smith 1834-1906."

The original is in the Church Historian's Office. The Smith Family Association has published it as the Journal of Jesse N. Smith. This record by the leading Little Colorado Mormon faithfully portrays Smith's public, church, and private affairs from the time of his first visit to the Little Colorado in 1878 until his death in 1906.

"Diary of Joseph West Smith 1859-1936."

A typescript copy in two volumes is at the Brigham Young University Library. The original diaries are in the hands of Lenora S. Rogers, Snowflake. Active in business, education, church, and political affairs, Smith provides one of the better accounts of Little Colorado development.

"Journals of John Henry Standifird 1831-1923."

Microfilms of a typed copy are at the Arizona Department of Library and Archives and at the Brigham Young University Library. The record of a ward bishop, Standifird's diary is probably the best account of Taylor's development. It also traces the various roads to Utah with unusual clarity.

Tanner, George S. "United Order."

Part of a forthcoming work on the history of Joseph City, this manuscript reveals a thorough grasp of the Arizona orders.

Tenney, Ammon M., Collection.

Located at the Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society Library, the Tenney collection consists of four boxes including his diaries beginning in 1866 and various papers relative to his experiences in northern Arizona and Mexico. Mission activities, railroading, Fort Defiance and matters of church policy are all included.

"Journal of Ida Frances Hunt Udall."

The original is in the possession of Marie Ellsworth of Logan; a xerox copy at the Church Historian's Office. The first part of the diary is a sketch of Mrs. Udall's early life by herself and a sister. From May 1882 until December, 1886, entries are regular. A useful source on polygamy and the Arizona prosecutions.

"Daily Journal of John M. Whitaker."

Photostatic copies of the journal's three volumes are at the University of Utah. While Whitaker spent his life as a business and church man in Salt Lake City, his job as private secretary to John W. Young in the late 1880's led him to make a number of entries that are important to an understanding of Young's role in northern Arizona.

Whitaker, John M., Papers.

Deposited at the University of Utah Library, the Whitaker Papers include personal letters to John W. Young and others and railroading papers that are pertinent to the construction of the Atlantic and Pacific road across northern Arizona.

Wiltbank, Milo, Collection.

At the Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society Library, the Wiltbank collection consists of a number of tape recorded interviews with pioneers of northeastern Arizona.

Woodbury, Angus. "The United Order."

A copy of this manuscript is at Utah State University Library. It is a useful contribution to the United Order literature.

"Wilford Woodruff's Journal, January 1st 1873 to February 7th 1880 (A Synopsis of Wilford Woodruff's Travels and Labors taken from his Journals by Himself.)"

Includes the year 1879-80 Woodruff spend on the Little Colorado in hiding from federal authorities. Contains most useful insights into polygamy, travel, and Woodruff's role in the development of the mission.

Church Records and Official Letters

By no means exhausting the official church records on the Little Colorado colony, the following histories, minutes, and letters were particularly useful in gathering data for this study. The official histories yielded the general outlines of development. Letters and minute books were indispensible in establishing official policy and in studying the problems of the colony. With one exception, they are located at the Church Historian's Office in Salt Lake City.

Hatch, L. H. Personal file. Includes a limited number of letters, photos, and sundry papers.

"History of the Saint Johns Ward."

Jenson, Andrew. "History of the Eastern Arizona Stake."

________. "History of the Little Colorado Stake."

________. "History of the San Juan Stake."

________. "History of the Snowflake Stake."

________. "History of the St. Johns Stake."
Comprised of newspaper clippings, reports from the field, and data gathered by Jenson in his far ranging perambulations, these histories give the broad outline of development in Arizona.

"Journal History of the Church."
Made up of newspaper clippings and other fragmentary bits of history, it makes numerous references to affairs in northern Arizona but rarely gives anything not found in more complete form elsewhere.

"Minute Book or Record of the Mutual Improvement Association for the Young Men, Sunset Ward."
Valuable chiefly for what it reveals about the efforts made by Little Colorado pioneers to maintain some touch with educational and intellectual activity.

"Minutes of a Quarterly Conference of the Little Colorado Stake, May 31-June 1, 1884."

"Minutes of the Little Colorado Stake Conferences."
Unlike all other entries in this section, this minute book is found at the University of Arizona Library in Tucson.

"Minutes of the Eastern Arizona Stake Conferences 1879-1882."

"Minutes of the Eastern Arizona Stake Conferences 1882-1885."

"Minutes of the Eastern Arizona Stake Conferences 1886-1889."
The Eastern Arizona Stake was divided in 1887 and most of this book's contents are minutes of the Snowflake Stake Conferences.

"Minutes of the Snowflake Stake Conferences, 1890-92."

"Minutes of the Snowflake Stake Conferences, 1892-98."

Porter, Rulon. "History of the Joseph City Ward."
Made up of documents and fragments of history as well as Porter's account, this history is far more general than its name indicates.

"Ramah Ward Record, Books A, B, and C."

Smith, Jesse N., Personal File.

Smith, Lot, Personal File.

Snow, Erastus, Letter Boxes.
These include correspondence from Snow as well as letters received by him.

Taylor, John, Letter Boxes and Letterpress Books.

Udall, David K., Personal File.

Woodruff, Wilford, Letter Boxes and Letterpress Books.

Young, Brigham Jr., Letter Boxes and Personal Papers.

Young, John W., Letter Boxes and Personal Papers.

Materials relating to Arizona are scattered at random through the letters and papers enumerated above. In some cases, alphabetical indexes speed the work of searching the letterpress books; otherwise, the materials must be worked through piece by piece.

Newspapers

The Apache Chief.

Published at St. Johns for a few months in 1884 by George McCarter, the *Chief* was openly hostile to the Mormons and attacked them constantly without any great concern for accuracy.

The Arizona Miner. 1864-1885.

Published weekly and daily during much of the period of Mormon colonization, it carried items on their arrival, their affairs in the territory, and the polygamy trials. Generally sympathetic and fair in its treatment of Little Colorado Mormons.

The Deseret News, 1870-1900.

One of the most valuable sources of information, the *News* carried regular "Arizona Items" during the 1870's and 1880's and with decreasing frequency thereafter.

Other newspapers in Arizona and New Mexico reported Mormon activities and are valuable as sources on Little Colorado colonization but are uncatalogued and require much research.

Theses and Dissertations

Daniels, Howard E. "Mormon Colonization in Northern Arizona." Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Arizona, 1960.

Good for the original settlements on the lower river but superficial for the remainder of the Little Colorado colony.

Flake, David Kay. "A History of Mormon Missionary Work with the Hopi, Navaho and Zuni Indians." Unpublished Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1965.

Informative and understanding, this thesis is well documented and has a valuable bibliography.

Geary, Elmo G. "A Study of Dramatics in Castle Valley from 1875-1925." Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Utah, 1953.

A close study of the cultural specialty of one Colorado Plateau colony.

Law, Wesley R. "Mormon Indian Mission, 1855." Unpublished Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1959.

Throws light on an abortive approach to Arizona via the Elk Mountain Mission of 1855 that is not found elsewhere.

Porter, Kenneth. "Little Colorado River Settlements Brigham City, Joseph City, Obed and Sunset." Unpublished Master's thesis, Arizona State University at Tempe, 1956.

Smith, Saphronia. "A History of the Northeastern Section of Arizona: Its Settlements and Development into Latter-day Saint Stakes 1876-1937." Unpublished Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1937.

The earliest study of Mormon colonization on the Little Colorado.

Books and Periodicals

Allen, Edward J. The Second United Order Among the Mormons. New York: Columbia University Press, 1936.

Likely the best published work on the United Order movement.

Anderson, Nels. Desert Saints: The Mormon Frontier in Utah. Phoenix Books paper edition, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965.

An excellent general work on the Mormon frontier experience. While Utah's Dixie is at the center of Anderson's treatment, chapters on the United Order, polygamy and village life throw light upon the Arizona experience as well.

Arrington, Leonard J. Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints 1830-1900. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958.

The outstanding work on Mormon economic history. Chapters on the United Order, Boards of Trade, and Mormon agriculture and railroading are particularly pertinent.

________. Orderville, Utah: A Pioneer Mormon Experiment in Economic Organization. Monograph Series, Vol. II, No. 2, Logan: Utah State University Press, 1954.

A study in detail of the best known of the "family style" United Orders.

Bailey, Paul. Jacob Hamblin, Buckskin Apostle. Los Angeles: Westlore Press, 1948.

A rather imaginative account of Hamblin's experiences. Although less than satisfactory in most respects, Bailey's work is the best source known to this writer on Hamblin after he moved to Arizona in 1877.

Bancroft, Hubert Howe. *History of Arizona and New Mexico, 1530-1888*. San Francisco: The History Company, Publishers, 1890.
Dated and in need of rewriting.

————————. *History of Utah 1840-1887*. San Francisco: The History Company, Publishers, 1890.
A general but dated history of Utah.

Book of Mormon.
Revealed to Joseph Smith, the Book of Mormon expounds many Latter-day Saint doctrines including some that pertain to the expansion of the Mormon kingdom.

Brimhall, George W. *The Workers of Utah*. Provo, Utah, 1889.
Published first in limited numbers, this little volume was reissued in 1944. Forthright and questioning, Brimhall gives an unusually candid picture of pioneering on Utah's frontier. His descriptions of expeditions to the lower Colorado River and southeastern Utah are pertinent to Arizona's colonization.

Brooks, Juanita. "Indian Relations on the Mormon Frontier," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, XXII (1944), 1-48.
An excellent description of the peculiar Indian relations of the southern frontiers of Mormonism.

————————. "Lee's Ferry at Lonely Dell," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, XXV (1957), 284-295.
A good account of life at the ferry. Perhaps the best of Emma Lee's role.

————————. *Mountain Meadows Massacre*. New edition. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962.
A most thorough and balanced study of the Mormon frontier's most tragic incident.

Brown, James S. *Life of a Pioneer: Autobiography of James S. Brown*. Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons, Co., 1900.
Based upon his day to day diaries, Brown's work contains several chapters on his mission of exploration and Indian proselyting to northern Arizona.

Bufkin, Donald. "The Lost County of Pah-Ute," *Journal of Arizona History*, V (Summer 1964), 1-11.
Explains Arizona's claim to Pah-Ute County (now the Nevada point) and the settlement by which it was lost to Nevada.

Cleland, Robert Glass and Brooks, Juanita (eds.) A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848-1876. 2 vols. San Marino: The Huntington Library Press, 1955.

Although Lee's entire diary is pertinent to Mormon colonization, that part of it that records his experience at Lee's Ferry and Moenave (1871-74) is especially relevant to the study of settlement in northern Arizona. It includes much useful information about roads, personalities and Indian affairs as well as Lee's Ferry.

Clyde, George Dewey. "History of Irrigation in Utah," Utah Historical Quarterly, XXVII (January 1959), 27-36.

A short but useful study of water development in Utah to the 1950's.

Corbett, Pearson H. Jacob Hamblin, Peacemaker. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1952.

Describes Hamblin's role as an Indian missionary and explorer.

Cowley, Matthias F. Wilford Woodruff, History of His Life and Labors as Recorded in His Daily Journal. Salt Lake City: The Deseret News Press, 1909.

A biography of Woodruff with extensive quotes from his diaries. Includes his sojourn on the Little Colorado River and his role in the mission to the Zuni Indians.

Cozzens, Samuel Woodworth. The Marvelous Country or Three Years in Arizona and New Mexico. Boston: Lee and Shepard Publishers, 1876.

A far-fetched and unreliable account of Cozzens' visit to the West. Only passing reference is made to the Little Colorado.

Crampton, C. Gregory. "Mormon Colonization in Southern Utah and Adjacent Parts of Arizona and Nevada 1851-1900." Unpublished, mimeographed for the National Park Service, 1965.

The best and most complete study of Mormon settlement in its area.

________. Outline History of the Glen Canyon Region, 1876-1922. Glen Canyon Series #9. Anthropological Papers #42. Edited by Charles E. Dibble. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1959.

Among the early products of Dr. Crampton's study of the Glen Canyon in connection with the archaeological salvage project for the Upper Colorado River Basin undertaken by the University of Utah for the National Park Service.

________. Standing Up Country, The Canyon Lands of Utah and Arizona. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964.

A richly illustrated and well written history of the region that lies between the Great Basin centers of Mormondom and the Little Colorado River. Includes sections on the exploration of the Canyon Lands and the Mormon passage through it as well as thorough and usable notes and bibliography.

________, and Miller, David E. (eds.) "Journal of Two Campaigns by the Utah Territorial Militia Against the Navajo Indians, 1869," Utah Historical Quarterly, XXIX (April 1961), 149-176.

Valuable for understanding the elaboration of Mormon knowledge of the approaches to southeastern Utah and to the Colorado River.

________, and Rusho, W. L. "A Report on the History of Lee's Ferry, Arizona." Unpublished, mimeographed for the National Park Service, 1964.

The most recent and complete study of Lee's Ferry.

Creer, Leland Hargrave. Mormon Towns in the Region of the Colorado. Anthropological Papers #32. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1958.

A short but useful consideration of the Mormon southern frontier.

"Diamon Jubilee Gems, Snowflake Stake of Zion, 1887-1962." Compiled by Alice Hansen et. al. Mimeographed by the Snowflake Stake.

Anecdotal and biographic materials relative to Snowflake Stake. Of limited historical value.

Doctrine and Covenants.

Revelations received by Joseph Smith which elaborate and develop many of the scriptural themes introduced in the Book of Mormon. Like the latter, it is essential to understanding the church's mode of thought and attitude towards the Indians, missions, expansion, and various other matters.

Farish, Thomas E. History of Arizona. 8 vols. San Francisco: The Filmer Brothers Electrotype co., 1915-18.

Cites many documents and sources in toto. Contains much useful data on general economic, Indian, and political situations in Arizona Territory. Makes only the most limited and general references to Mormon colonization.

Flake, Osmer D. William J. Flake, Pioneer-Colonizer. Published privately. No date.

This little volume on the life of one of the foremost settlers of the Little Colorado contains much information on colonizing, Gentile relations, and stock raising. Sharing many of the experiences recounted, Osmer Flake, a son of the book's principle, was, unfortunately, so biased in his presentation as to lessen the work's value.

Forrest, Earle R. Arizona's Dark and Bloody Ground. Revised ed. Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1952.

A dependable and readable account of northern Arizona's Pleasant Valley feud between sheep and cattle ranchers.

__________. "Riding for the Old C O Bar," Arizoniana, The Journal of Arizona History, V (Spring 1964).

Perhaps the best account of the cattle industry in the Flagstaff area. Passing reference is given John W. Young, the Arizona Cattle Company, Fort Moroni, and Lot Smith.

Gibbons, H. B. Saint and Savage. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1965.

Describes the life of Andrew A. Gibbons on numerous frontiers including Nevada's Muddy, Moencopi, and St. Johns.

Greever, William S. Arid Domain: The Santa Fe Railway and Its Western Land Grant. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1954.

A well documented, scholarly study of the Santa Fe Railroad's land policy. Focusing on the twentieth century, it nevertheless illuminates the land dealings of the Atlantic and Pacific and contains some information on the construction of the 35th parallel road.

Harris, Llewelyn. "Miraculous Healings Among the Zunis," The Juvenile Instructor, XIV (1879), 160.

A firsthand account of Harris' experience at Zuni during a smallpox epidemic.

Haskett, Bert. "Early History of the Cattle Industry in Arizona," Arizona Historical Review, VI (October, 1935), 3-42.

Includes some reference to the importation of Utah cattle, Mormon dairying practices, and John W. Young's role in the Arizona Cattle Company.

"Historic Letters of the Past," *Daughters of the Utah Pioneers Lessons.* Compiled by Kate B. Carter (November 1959).

Includes a number of letters from Little Colorado women.

Hunter, Milton R. *Brigham Young the Colonizer*. Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1940.

Dated but useful.

__________. "The Mormons and the Colorado River," *The American Historical Review,* XLIV (April, 1939), 449-455.

The most complete study of the Mormon movement to develop the Colorado River navigation.

Jones, Daniel W. *Forty Years Among the Indians.* Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor's Office, 1890.

A somewhat defensive autobiography written by a doughty scout and pioneer. Jones' activities included translation of the Book of Mormon to Spanish, heading an exploratory expedition to Mexico in 1875-76, leading a colony south, work with the Indians, and settling in Mexico. Particularly useful for exploration of the Little Colorado in 1875-76.

Journal of Discourses. 26 vols. Liverpool, 1854-1886.

The recorded speeches and sermons of church leaders constitute a rich source of information, among other things, on Mormon doctrines, interest in colonizing the south and directives to field personnel.

Kane, Mrs. Thomas L. *Pandemonium or Arcadia: Which? Twelve Mormon Homes Visited in Succession on a Journey Through Utah to Arizona*. Philadelphia: 1874.

Candid but sympathetic impressions of Mormon homes and values, some of which, particularly those on Indians, prayer, and the mission, are useful in studying frontier Mormon society.

Kelly, George H. *Legislative History, Arizona 1864-1912*. Phoenix: Manufacturing Stationeers, 1926.

An outline of legislative activities from Arizona's beginning as a territory to statehood. Legislative personnel, issues, and major laws passed are included. Has some data on relation of Little Colorado Mormons to the legislature. Contains useful maps showing creation of counties.

Lamar, Howard Roberts. The Far Southwest 1846-1912, A Territorial History. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966.

A recent study of territorial politics in the "four-corners" territories of Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, and Arizona. Well documented and written, it calls attention to underlying similarities in four quite distinct political settings.

Larson, Andrew Karl. "I Was Called to Dixie," The Virgin River Basin: Unique Experiences in Mormon Pioneering. Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1961.

A thorough study of the Virgin River Basin's settlement in southwestern Utah. Useful for background material relating to the Little Colorado and information on the colonization of the approaches to northern Arizona.

Layton, Christopher. Life of Christopher Layton. Edited by George Q. Cannon and Selina Layton Phillips. Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1911.

This biography of Layton's life contains a short account of the polygamy troubles that led to his call to Arizona, his trip south, and colonizing in southern Arizona.

Levine, Albert J. Snowflake, A Pictorial Review, 1878-1964. Published privately, 1964.

A general and pleasing pictorial survey of Snowflake's history with brief commentary. While as the title indicates it covers down to 1964, many of the photographs date from well before 1900. The importance of the church upon the community's life is observed.

Little, James A. Jacob Hamblin. Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor's Office, 1881.

The basic work on Hamblin's life. Particularly valuable as a source on the approach to Arizona.

Lockwood, Frank C. Pioneer Days in Arizona from the Spanish Occupation to Statehood. New York: Macmillan Company, 1932.

A general history of early Arizona.

Lyman, Albert R. Biography of Francis Marion Lyman Apostle, 1880-1916. Delta, Utah: Published privately, 1958.

Traces Lyman's doings including his activities in northern Arizona and polygamy troubles.

________. Indians and Outlaws: Settling of the San Juan Frontier. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1962.

Traces colonization of Utah's San Juan emphasizing the Indians.

McClintock, James H. *Mormon Settlement in Arizona*. Phoenix: Manufacturing Stationers Inc., 1921.
The standard work on the course of Mormon colonization in Arizona. Sympathetically written, this work uses numerous unpublished materials but cites them poorly or not at all.

Meyakawa, Scott T. *Protestants and Pioneers: Individualism and Conformity on the American Frontier*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964.
Examines the social relations of frontier Methodists, Quakers, Baptists, and Presbyterians in the Ohio Valley. At a day before political apparatus had penetrated the frontier, he finds a volunteer communalism which has contributed to the American affinity for self-government. Useful for locating the Mormon frontier experience in the American milieu.

Miller, David E. *Hole-in-the-Rock*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1957.
Written after extensive research both in the field and the written sources, this is the best work on the grueling desert trip to the San Juan country.

Mosk, Sanford. *Land Tenure Problems in the Santa Fe Grant Area*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1944.
A short description of the Santa Fe Railway's land practices after 1900. Contains little on the early period.

Mott, Dorthy Challis. "Don Lorenzo Hubbell of Ganado," *Arizona Historical Review*, IV (April, 1931), 45-51.
Deals with Hubbell's role as one of northern Arizona's most important traders and merchants.

Neff, Andrew Love. *History of Utah, 1847-1869*. Edited and annotated by Leland H. Creer. Salt Lake City: The Deseret News Press, 1940.
A basic and most useful work on the Mormon colonization of Utah.

Nelson, Lowry. *The Mormon Village: A Pattern and Technique of Land Settlement*. Salt Lake City, 1952.
A careful and useful study of the Mormon village. The patterns it describes are relevant to the colonizing experience in Arizona.

Nevins, Allan. *Fremont, Pathmarker of the West.* New York: Appleton Century Company, 1939.
Some pertinent data on Fremont's role in Arizona.

O'Dea, Thomas F. *The Mormons*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957.
A sound and thoroughly documented study of Mormon values and the development of a Mormon society.

"Our Town and People, A Brief History of Woodruff." Compiled by Sara E. Brinkerhoff and Nina B. Brewer. Mimeographed 1955.
Biographic and anecdotal materials about Woodruff from the time of settlement to the 1950's.

Powell, John Wesley. *Report on the Arid Lands of the United States, With a More Detailed Account of the Lands of Utah.* Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1878.
Powell presents his conclusions about agriculture in the arid West. Drawing from his observation of Mormon practices, it is pertinent to their experience in Arizona as it is to Utah.

Rees, Ellen Greer. "The Christian A. Kempe Family History." Multilithed privately, 1958.
Largely biographic and anecdotal nature. Contains extracts from records kept by Kempe about the Arizona polygamy trials.

Richards, J. Morris and Westover, Adele B. *Unflinching Courage, Joseph City, Arizona*. Joseph City, Arizona: John H. Miller, 1963.
A local account of the lower Little Colorado's colonization.

Ricks, Joel E. *Forms and Methods of Early Mormon Settlement in Utah and the Surrounding Region, 1847-1877*. Monograph Series, XI, No. 2. Logan: Utah State University Press, 1964.
The published version of a doctoral dissertation done in 1930, this work throws significant light upon the processes of Mormon colonization.

Roberts, B. H. *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: Century I.* 6 vols. Salt Lake City: The Deseret News Press, 1930.
Capably done, this general history of the Mormons contains much information on the expansion and colonization although its emphasis is upon political relations. Written by an official church historian.

Sloan, Richard A. (ed.) *History of Arizona*. 4 vols. Phoenix: Record publishing Co., 1930.
The first two volumes which are historical in nature are not of great value. The third and fourth which are devoted to biography are more useful. Little Colorado Mormons as well as important territorial figures are included.

Smith, Jesse N. Journal of Jesse N. Smith. Salt Lake City: Jesse N. Smith Family Association, 1953.
This record by the church's leading resident figure in the Little Colorado area chronicles Smith's public, private and church affairs.

Smith, Joseph. History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. 2d ed. revised. Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1948.
The official history of the church during Joseph Smith's life. Based primarily on Smith's records and letters, each volume includes an extensive introduction and notes by B. H. Roberts.

Smith, Robert H. "Among the Zuni's ," The Juvenile Instructor, XI (1876).
An account by one of the participants of the first Mormon proselyting mission to the Zunis.

Stegner, Wallace. Beyond the Hundredth Meridian: John Wesley Powell and the Second Opening of the West. Sentry ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1962.
Primarily a biography of John Wesley Powell, Stegner's work contains much useful information on the approach to the Little Colorado and the development of the arid West.

Tanner, Faun McConkie. A History of Moab, Utah. Moab: Press of the Times-Independent, 1937.
Briefly traces Moab's development from the Elk Mountain Mission of 1855.

Tanner, George S. "Henry Martin Tanner, Joseph City Arizona Pioneer." Multilithed 1964.
Biographic in nature but of real value in Little Colorado social and cultural matters as well as dam building and employment.

Teller, Irving. "Ramah, New Mexico, 1876-1900, An Historical Episode with Some Value Analysis," Utah Historical Quarterly, XXI (April, 1953), 117-136.

Udall, David King and Nelson, Pearl Udall. Arizona Pioneer Mormon, David King Udall, History and His Family, 1851-1938. Tucson: Arizona Silhouettes, 1959.
A memoir of one important colonist's experience on the frontier. Of primary worth for political relations and the development of St. Johns.

Underhill, Ruth M. The Navajos. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956.
A good general history of the Navajos.

Vogt, Evon Z. and O'Dea, Thomas F. "A Comparative Study of the Role of Values in Social Action in Two Southwestern Communities," Sociological Review (December, 1953), pp. 642-654.
A contemporary study of the continuing influence of pioneer Mormon values upon Ramah, New Mexico.

Waters, L. L. Steel Trails to Santa Fe. Lawrence: University of Kansas, 1950.
The accepted history of the Atchison, Topeka, and the Santa Fe. Of little value for study of early railroading.

Weinberg, Albert K. Manifest Destiny: A Study of Nationalist Expansionism in American History. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1935.
A scholarly work on the American expansionism which is pertinent to this study for what it reveals about the climate of expansiveness in which nineteenth century Mormon values matured.

Whitney, Orson F. History of Utah. 4 vols. Salt Lake City: Cannon and Sons Co., 1892-1904.
A general history of Utah.

Williams, Eugene E. "The Territorial Governors of Arizona," Arizona Historical Review, VI and VII (1935-36).
Summarizes the careers of Governors Goodwin, McCormick, Safford, Hoyt, and Fremont.

Williams, Mattie. "History of the Woman Suffrage in Arizona and the Nation," Arizona Historical Review, I (January, 1929), 69-73.
Indicates that the woman suffrage movement in Arizona may have been confined largely to Mormons prior to 1901.

Woodbury, Angus M. The History of Southern Utah and Its National Parks. Salt Lake City: Utah Historical Society, 1950.
Includes a short account of pioneering in southwest Utah and on the Arizona Strip.

Wyllys, Rufus Kay. Arizona, The History of a Frontier State. Phoenix: Hobson and Herr, 1950.
A text book summary.

Government Documents and Court Cases

Atlantic and Pacific v. Mingus, 165 (U.S.), 413 (1886).
Pertinent to the Atlantic and Pacific claim to northern Arizona lands.

LeRue, E. C. The Colorado River and its Utilization. United States Geological Survey Water Supply Paper 395. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1910.
Includes studies of the flow of several Colorado Plateau streams including the Little Colorado River.

The Statutes at Large. Edited by George P. Sanger. Vol. XIV, 1865-67. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1868.

Van Wyck v. Knevals, 106 (U.S.), 369 (1883).
Pertinent to the Atlantic and Pacific claim to northern Arizona lands.

U.S. Congress, House, Forfeited Grants Atlantic and Pacific Railroad Company, 48th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1884-1885, H. Report.

U.S. Congress, House, Report of the Secretary of Interior, 49th Cong., 1886-1887, H. Doc. 2.
Communicating information on the sale of railroad lands including those sold by the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad Company.

U.S. Congress, Senate, Report of the Secretary of Interior, 49th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1888-1889, S. Doc 2.
Communicating information on the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad lands.

U.S. Congress, House, Letter from Secretary of the Interior William F. Vilas, 50th Cong., 1st Sess., 1888-1889, H. Doc. 232.
Transmitting a report from the Acting Commissioner of the General Land Office, and supporting papers regarding cattle graziers on the public lands.

U.S. Congress, House, President Grover Cleveland, Message on Railroad Indemnity Withdrawals, 50th Cong., 1st Sess., 1888-1889, H. Doc. 246.
Transmitting a communication from the Secretary of the Interior recommending the revocation of the withdrawal lands of certain railroads.

U.S. Congress, House, Report of the Secretary of Interior, 51st Cong., 2nd Sess., 1890-1891.

Transmitting the reports of the territorial governors including data on population and Mormon affairs in Arizona Territory.

U.S. Congress, Senate, Journal, 64th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1916-1917, pp. 80-118.

Summarizes resolution placed before the Senate in favor of Forest Dale settlers who had been forced to leave improvements when the site proved to be on Indian lands.

VITA

Name	Charles Sharon Peterson
Birthplace	Snowflake, Arizona
Birthdate	January 30, 1927
Elementary School	The Snowflake District School
Secondary School	The Snowflake Union High School
Higher Education	Brigham Young University Provo, Utah 1949-1953 and 1956-1958 University of Utah Salt Lake City, Utah 1963-1967
Degree	B.A., Brigham Young University, 1952 M.A., Brigham Young University, 1958
Professional Organizations	Phi Alpha Theta, Western History Association, Utah Historical Society, Utah Conference on Higher Education The Rocky Mountain Social Science Association
Professional Positions	Instructor of History, College of Eastern Utah Dean of Instruction, College of Eastern Utah

ADDITIONAL RESEARCH PROBLEMS

1. A general history of Mormon colonization on the Colorado Plateau. The movement of Utah colonists over the Rim of the Great Basin onto the Plateau began in the 1850's and with a few interruptions continued until 1900. While the region is a unit, its colonization has only been studied in fragments.

2. Lot Smith's person and career were such that a full scale biography should be done on him. Less well known than his Utah War exploits, Smith's activities in Arizona are equally compelling and probably more important in Mormon history. Utah, Arizona, and family sources would provide ample material for such a study.

3. My brush with political history of the Little Colorado suggests that a study of Mormon political affairs in Arizona Territory would be most worthwhile.

4. A thorough study of the nineteenth century livestock industry in Arizona is needed.

5. A biography of John W. Young, wandering son of Brigham Young, would be useful for understanding the conflict between the world and the church in the Mormon personality as well as to cast light upon the development of northern Arizona.

6. As a way station and meeting place of three cultures--Indian, Mormon and the National Government--the Moencopi area merits further study.

7. A sound history of the Hopis is still needed.

8. A study of nineteenth century exploration and transportation along the 35th parallel route would be of interest and importance. While the military and railroad surveys were reported and the Santa Fe Railroad has its historians, apparently no single work has attempted to draw them together.

9. Interesting and worthwhile short articles could focus on the naming of Lee's Backbone and the wedding trips over the Lee's Ferry Road or "Honeymoon Trail" as it was sometimes called.

10. Ft. Apache's role in Indian affairs and the general development of northern Arizona merits study. Much material is on file in the National Archives.